UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE LATIN LETTERS OF ANTONIO DE GOUVEA

AN EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION, TEXT, COMMENTARY, AND TRANSLATION

MARTHA KATHERINE ZEEB

A THESIS

IN LATIN

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PHILADELPHIA
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PARENTIBUS MEIS CARISSIMIS

C'est l'un de ces rares esprits qui feront l'éternel ornement de la Renaissance.

QUICHERAT.

PREFACE

My search for a thesis subject in the field of the Latin works of the French Renaissance was occasioned by two years of study in France. During 1927-28 I began research work on the life of Antonio de Gouvea and his two books of epigrams under the direction of Professor Henri Chamard and Professor Edmond Faral, both of the University of Paris.

Because of the lack in this country of books that were essential, I had to abandon my original plan and complete an edition of Gouvea's epistolary poems, which seemed more feasible here. This work has been carried on under the direction of Professor Walton B. McDaniel, who has always been more than generous with advice and sympathetic encouragement. To him and to the other members of the Latin Department of the University of Pennsylvania, Professor John C. Rolfe, Professor Roland G. Kent, Professor George D. Hadzsits, Professor Harry B. Van Deventer, Professor Edward H. Heffner, Professor Robert B. Burke, Assistant Professor Merle M. Odgers, and Dr. Harrison B. Ash, I wish to express my sincere gratitude for kindly criticism and valuable suggestions.

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The editions of Gouvea's works are listed in the introduction with a brief discussion.
In addition, on points of grammar, history, geography, etc., I have consulted the usual handbooks.

THE LATIN LETTERS OF ANTONIO DE GOUVEA

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE OF ANTONIO DE GOUVEA*

The sixteenth century can justly claim the attention of the historians of French law as a period of prime importance. Never, since that glorious procession of jurists to which the earlier centuries of the Roman Empire partly owe their renown, has there existed such a large number of brilliant men devoted to the study of legislation.[1] Among them one of the most famous in France was Antonio de Gouvea,[2] a Portuguese by birth,[3] whose last name Gallicized was de Govéa.[4] Although he is not generally known to the present generation of scholars and students, he was one of the most talented men of his time, and was highly esteemed by his contemporaries. He was not merely a man of excellent judgment and learning,[5] but he was also assigned first rank in all the activities in which he was engaged.[6] To him was accorded the rare

* This introductory account of Gouvea represents in condensed form sections of a critical biography which the writer has nearly finished and hopes to publish when further residence in France enables her to complete the studies initiated there, where alone the necessary sources are adequately available.

[1] Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale de Caen, 1865: Caillemer, Etude sur Antoine de Govéa, 79.

[2] Van Vaassen, Antonii Goveani Opera Iuridica, Philologica, Philosophica, Dedicatio, **2 Antonii Goveani, Iureconsulti ac Polyhistoris eximii. This work is subsequently referred to as Vaassen.

[3] Goveanus, Epistolae, 1.2 A Lusitano littera missa viro; Carvalho, Ioannes de, Novus et Methodicus Tractatus de una et altera quarta deducenda, pt. 3.55. p. 171 Antonius Goveanus noster, Lusitanus, vir magni ingenii et eruditionis. Cf. note 29 below.

[4] The Portuguese to-day call him António de Gouveia, e. g. Carvalho, Joaquim de, António de Gouveia e o Aristotelismo da Renascença. In France he signed himself de Govéa (cf. Mém. Ac. de Caen, 80, Note 1). However, in this thesis I shall use the original Portuguese spelling.

[5] Antonio, Bibliotheca Hispana Nova 1.123.II In Antonio et doctrina, et ingenium, consectariaque horum fama praecipue floruit.

[6] Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.22 quasi omnium scientiarum aeque capax ingenium illius esset, quodque singuli in singulis, ipse unus in omnibus praestare posset.

glory of being at the same time a great philosopher, a great jurisconsult, and a poet of consequence.[7] He might indeed be called a wandering knight of eloquence and of erudition, for Bordeaux, Toulouse, Paris, Cahors, Valence, and Grenoble all witnessed his triumphs.[8]

Almost the entire life of this famous man was passed in France, which he loved as his own country.[9] Although he did not forget Portugal,[10] through a feeling of gratitude for the country of his adoption, he ascribed to it the development of his ability and of his intellect. Ranking this land above all others, he felt convinced that he owed his advantages and his elevation above his compatriots to the air which one breathes there.[11]

In its long history the family of the de Gouveas numbered many men who held positions of prime importance.[12] The maternal grandfather of our Antonio was Antonio de Gouvea,[13] a Knight of the order of Christ,[14] who became particularly renowned

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[7] Moréri, Dictionnaire Historique, 4.169.I Ce savant homme a été le seul, qui, par une gloire assez rare dans son siécle a été estimé d'un commun consentement, excellent Poëte, grand Philosophe, et savant Jurisconsulte; Verney, Verdadeiro Metodo de Estudar, 2.130 (Antonio de Goveia) nam só foi um dos mais doutos Jurisconsultos do seu seculo; mas famozisimo Filozofo Peripatetico; em cuja materia escreveo, contra Pedro Ramo: foi insigne Poeta, e Retorico: eruditisimo em Latim, e Grego: venerando em tudo do mesmo Cujacio. This Portuguese is translated into Latin by Monteiro, Vita Antonii de Gouvea, ap. Dos Reys, Corpus Illustrium Poetarum Lusitanorum, 7.495 (sic!), i. e. 395 (Antonius de Gouvea) nec tantum e doctissimis Jureconsultis sui seculi unus fuit, sed famosissimus Filosophus Peripateticus, de qua materia adversus Petrum Ramum scripsit. Fuit insignis Poeta, et Rhetor; Graece, et Latine eruditissimus: in omnique disciplinarum genere a Cujacio magni habitus; cf. also Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.23; Knobelsdorfius, ap. Bulaeum, Historia Universitatis Parisiensis, 6.919; Muretus, Opera Omnia, 2.273.

[8] Quicherat, Histoire de Sainte-Barbe, 1.131; Gaullieur, Histoire du Collége de Guyenne, 87.

[9] Barbosa Machado, Bibliotheca Lusitana, 1.291.II.

[10] Gov. Variae Lectiones, 2.24 (Vaassen, 217.I-218.II) Caput hoc meis potissimum Lusitanis scribitur; . . . Multa ex vetere populi Romani consuetudine retinuit nostra Lusitania.

[11] Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.23; Moréri, Dict. Hist. 4.169.I.

[12] We may compare Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. Nova, 1.123.II Antonius Goveanus, vulgo Lusitanorum . . . de Govea, in familia editus est musis veluti sacra, in qua, ut Cassiodorus alicubi ait, tot probatos quam natos vere dixeris.

[13] Vaassen, Introd. 5; Clement, Bibliothèque Curieuse, 9.253.II. In this work his name is Gallicized as Chevalier Antam de Gouvea, where Antam, instead of Antoine, is to me inexplicable.

[14] Barbosa Machado, Bibl. Lusit. 1.291.I; 3.404.I.

for his courage in war.[15] A fitting tribute to his glory is Antonio's twenty-ninth epigram in the edition of 1540.[16]

D. M. Antonii Goveani Avi Optimi atque Meritissimi
Ensem tuum, dextram tuam Mors horruit;
illam, o ave, bellis inclytam Mors horruit.
Nec ausa iuventa congredi tecum integra,
gravi senecta concutit vires prius.
Quid laudis esse possit in victoria?

Diego or Diogo de Gouvea,[17] the son of the elder Antonio,[18] became the first head of the College of Sainte-Barbe.[19] In his numerous activities he served five kings of Portugal and four kings of France.[20]

It was the sister of this famous Diego and the daughter of the elder Antonio who was destined to become the mother of our Antonio. Her name was Inez,[21] i. e. Inesia,[22] as her son calls her in one of his Latin epistles. She married Alphonso Lopezio de Ayala,[23] a Spanish nobleman. We know of one family of this

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[15] Cf. Gov. Epist. 1.25-6 Me tamen a primis bello sacraverat annis, / ut successorem laudis haberet, avus.

[16] Antonii Goveani Epigrammata (Editio Repetita). Lugduni, 1540. (Vaassen, 695.) Cf. Introd. 32.

[17] Thuanus, Histoire Universelle, 2.38.476. Here De Thou calls him Andrea, but he must have confused him with his nephew who later studied at Sainte-Barbe and likewise became a great principal. Cf. notes 50-2 below. Bayle (Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, 2.579) follows him in this detail. All other authorities that I have consulted are consistent in naming the uncle Diego (Iacobus, Jacques or Jacob), e. g. Schottus, Hispaniae Bibliotheca, 300 sub patruo Iacobo Goveano; Quicherat, Hist. de Ste.-Barbe, 1.123 Jacques de Gouvéa; Gaullieur, Hist. du Col. de Guyenne, 80 Jacques de Gouvéa l'ancien; Archivo Historico Portuguez, 4.243 Diogo de Gouvea.

[18] Schottus (1. c.) and others call Diego *patruus,* thinking that he was descended from the family of the Gouveas on the father's side—an obvious error.

[19] Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Crit. 2.579; Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 300.

[20] Quicherat, Hist. de Ste.-Barbe, 1.125.

[21] Clement, Bibl. Cur. 9.253.II; Vaassen (Introd. 6) gives the form *Agnes,* but in one of his notes (m) *Ignes.*

[22] Gov. Epist. 4.7-9 Me dum vix tulerat sex mater Inesia menses, / vixque mihi vitae spiritus ullus erat, / haec cum per noctem species oblata parenti est.

[23] So Vaassen (1. c.) spells the name; likewise Monteiro, Vita Ant. de Gouvea ap. Dos Reys, Corp. Ill. Poet. Lusit. 7.381, but Clement, 1. c. Afonso Lopes Ayala.

name, which was very old and illustrious and which had great power among the Spaniards for a long time.[24] It is, however, difficult to prove conclusively that Gouvea's father belonged to this specific family, although indications of it are far from negligible. Antonio in his own writings speaks of the nobility of his lineage.[25] Ferret at the end of the letter which he included in a note to his Institutiones[26] indicates that Gouvea had been born to no obscure place in life.

About the year 1505[27] Antonio de Gouvea was born in Beja,[28] a small town in Portugal ninety-five miles by railway southeast of Lisbon.[29] Portugal Gouvea describes as: Nostra Lusitania τρηχεῖα ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος,[30] imitating in this language the words of Cicero[31] who says of Arpinum τρηχεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος. Beja, which is located probably on the site of the ancient Pax Julia,[32] is an episcopal city on an isolated hill, partly enclosed by walls of Roman origin.[33]

As Gouvea himself tells us in his letters written in Latin to his sweetheart, Catherine de Bauffremont,[34] he had three sisters[35]

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[24] Vaassen, Introd. 6. n.

[25] Epist. 3.45-6 Non deest nobilitas ab avis proavisque relicta, / successor cuius ordine factus ego.

[26] Lugduni, 1543. Quoted by Vaassen, Introd. 48 enitere tu . . . qualem nominis Lusitani vetustas et amplitudo postulat; ut Rex tuus possit aliquando te merito tuo bonoque publico tribunali ac iurisdictioni in Regno suo praeponere.

[27] Loisel, Institutes Coutumières, Liste des Auteurs et Jurisconsultes, cj Govéa (Ant. 1505-1565).

[28] Gov. Epist. 1.17 Beia mihi patria est.

[29] Encyclopaedia Britannica (14th ed.), 3.335.I.

[30] Lectiones Variae Iuris Civilis, 2.24 (Vaassen, 218).

[31] Att. 2.11.2.

[32] Gov. Epist. 1. 17-8; Venetus (sic!), Epistola ad Schottum, ap. Schottum, Hisp. Bibl. 475 Goveani, Iulia Pacensi Lusitaniae oriundi.

[33] Encyc. Brit. l. c.

[34] I. e. Catharina Bofremontana. Cf. Gouvea's Epigrams and Epistles; Introd. 33.

[35] Epist. 1.19 Tres vidi fratres, tres me videre sorores. This seems to be the only place where the sisters are definitely mentioned. The numerous biographers of the Gouvea family have spoken only of the famous brothers, although that there were three girls is probably implied in the passage in Vaassen, Introd. 6 . . . isque numerosam septem liberorum prolem ex uxore sibi procreavit, quorum filii quatuor, . . . ad eruditionis laudem viam ingressi sunt.

and three brothers.[36] In spite of his being the youngest child,[37] Antonio was destined to surpass their exploits and reputations.[38] After the unfortunately early death of their father,[39] the children all adopted their mother's name of Gouvea.[40] Since their financial resources had suffered on account of this blow,[41] all the brothers set out on the road to learning with the greatest eagerness. When they had been instructed at home in the rudiments of both French and Portuguese, their uncle, Diego de Gouvea,[42] took them with him to Sainte-Barbe,[43] where they received training in literature and in philosophy. At that time there were a number of the Gouvea family studying at the University of Paris.[44]

We can speak of the famous brothers only briefly here. They were men whose rivalry for family fame our author might well have found severe. Marçal de Gouvea,[45] the eldest, began his

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[36] Most biographers make no mention of a third brother of Antonio, e. g. Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. Nova, 1.123.II Nam tres simul Goveanos fratres, Martialem, Andream, et Antonium . . .; Venetus, Epist. ad Schott. ap. Schottum, Hisp. Bibl. 475 Tres fuerunt fratres Lusitani, Martialis, Andreas, Antonius; Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Crit. 2.579 les trois frères. With the exception of the statement in Epist. 1.19 that three brothers had already gone to Paris before him, Gouvea never mentions a third brother.

[37] Gov. Epist. 1.20 sorsque tui partus ultima, mater, ego; 4.72 ultima sors partus illius (parentis) ipse fui; Venetus, l. c. Antonius natu minimus plus ingenii et doctrinae habuit.

[38] L'Advocat, Dictionnaire Historique, 320 Antoine fut le plus illustre de tous; Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. Nova, 1.123.II In Antonio autem natu minimo et doctrina et ingenium consectariaque horum fama praecipue floruit; Bayle, l. c. Antoine Govea, le plus jeune des trois frères, fut le plus illustre de tous; Crevier, Histoire de l'Université de Paris, 5.340 Le plus illustre est Antoine de Govéa, poète, philosophe, et jurisconsulte, dont M. de Thou a inseré dans son histoire un très grand éloge.

[39] Gov. Epist. 4.75 Sola domo moeret vidua natosque patremque.

[40] Vaassen, Introd. 6.

[41] Gov. Epist. 3.35-6 Nunc tibi si rerum facies indigna mearum / despicitur, sortis crimine laedor ego.

[42] Cf. notes 17-20 above.

[43] Braga, Historia da Universidade de Coimbra, 1.346 Ahi entraram logo com o gráo de mestres Marçal de Gouvêa, André de Gouvêa, Diogo de Gouvêa, o novo, e Antonio de Gouvêa, sobrinhos do famoso Principal, que teve por alumnos os mais assombrosos espiritos da Renascença; Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. Nova, 1.123.II Goveanos fratres . . . Jacobus patruus in Barbarana schola Parisiensis gymnasii, sumptibus Joannis Portugalliae Regis III exhibitos, eo successu habuit ut nemo eorum non ingenii cura ad fastigium gloriae fuerit connixus.

[44] Bulaeus, Hist. Univ. Paris. 6.920.

[45] Vaassen, Introd. 6-7.q, r.

teaching career under his uncle, Diego,[46] then continued it at Poitiers[47] and Coimbra.[48] Since he was gifted along poetic lines, he proposed to imitate Ovid, as his brother did.[49]

Andrea de Gouvea became principal of the College of Sainte-Barbe[50] and he was also elected rector of the University of Paris in 1533.[51] He executed his duties with such remarkable ability that he was chosen principal of the College of Guyenne at Bordeaux.[52] With the help of the most learned men of the country, he developed this institution so that it soon became the most famous of all France.[53] Buchanan,[54] Montaigne,[55] and Businus[56] praised him very highly. In the year 1547, Andrea was called to the University of Coimbra by King John III, to introduce there the methods of teaching which he had studied and practiced in France.[57]

The name of the third brother[58] was probably Andrea[59] or Diego,[60] but most biographers have made no mention of him. Antonio himself never speaks of him except in his first letter to Catherine.[61]

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[46] Quicherat, Hist. de Ste.-Barbe, 1.129; Vaassen, l. c.
[47] Barbosa Machado, Bibl. Lusit. 3.404.I; Venetus, Epist. ad Schott. ap. Schottum, Hisp. Bibl. 475 carmina aliquando varia sua mihi ostendit Pictavis, epistolas, elegias, et alia.
[48] Cf. note 57 below.
[49] Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. Nova, 1.123.II Martialis Grammaticam de qua arte commentatus est, et poesim maxime Ovidianam coluit.
[50] Bulaeus, Hist. Univ. Paris. 6.238 ad an. 1533.
[51] Ibid. 6.977.II Nomenclatura Rectorum Universitatis.
[52] Antonio, l. c. Andreas cum laudatae Barbaranae scholae, mox et gymnasio praefuisset Burdigalensis urbis; Braga, l. c. Collegio de Guyenne, cujo governo manteve desde 1534 a 1547; De Lurbe, Chronique Bourdeloise, 40-1 (year 1534) André de Govea Portugais, est appellé de Paris pour estre principal du College de Guyene (sic!).
[53] Vaassen, Introd. 8.
[54] Epigrammata, 2.18.381.
[55] Essais, 1.25.
[56] Businus, Epistola Ioannis Gelidae, Praefatio, 107 Nam Andreas Goveanus, Burdicalensis gymnasiarcha, vir de universa Aquitania et litteris, ut si quis alius, optime meritus, homo pius, doctus et ad regendam iuventutem omnibus notus.
[57] Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Crit. 2.279.
[58] Cf. note 36 above.
[59] La Monnoye, L'Anti-Baillet, 1.332 (a work to which I have not had access). Quoted by Vaassen, Introd. 11.ar.
[60] Bulaeus, Hist. Univ. Paris. 6.942.
[61] Gov. Epist. 1.23.

Not much can be said about the first years of Gouvea. As Cicero[62] once put it: It is difficult to sing the praises of a boy, because one must praise in him only mere hopes and not as yet a reality.

The young lad spent his early life in his native country.[63] Long after his elder brothers had gone to Paris to study,[64] Antonio was kept at home by his grandfather,[65] who would have liked to see the military glory of his house carried on by his grandson.[66] According to Antonio's[67] own words, however, he felt that another career was in store for him. Ever since his uncle, the illustrious scholar, Diego de Gouvea, had made him taste the cup of the Muses, he had felt himself born for another kind of knighthood. He was to be a knight of eloquence, a knight of erudition, not one of battle and war.[68]

Although Gouvea belonged by birth to Portugal,[69] by his works and teachings he was a child of France,[70] for it was there that he spent the greatest part of his life.[71] Already indeed, at the age of twenty-two his studies gave promise of such a brilliant future that the king of Portugal sent him to France to complete his education at the expense of the Royal Treasury.[72]

Since his uncle, Diego de Gouvea, was rector of the College of Sainte-Barbe at Paris,[73] and his elder brothers, Andrea and

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[62] De Republica Lib. incert. frag. 10 Causa difficilis laudare puerum. Non enim res laudanda, sed spes est.

[63] Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 300.

[64] Gov. Epist. 1.21-2 Gallia tres studiis florens ignobilis oti / ceperat, . . .

[65] Cf. notes 13-6 above.

[66] Gov. Epist. 1.25-6 Me tamen a primis bello sacraverat annis, / ut successorem laudis haberet, avus.

[67] Ibid. 1.27-8 At Mars alter erat, bella altera, et altera castra, / altera militiae cura futura meae.

[68] Gaullieur, Hist. du Col. de Guyenne, 87.

[69] Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.22 Antonius Goveanus, genere Lusitanus, sed adoptione (sicut ipse, quo erat animi candore, palam profitebatur) Gallus.

[70] De Thou, Hist. Univ. 3.38.601 il disoit ingénûment qu'il étoit François par adoption.

[71] Cf. Didot, Bibliothèque Générale, 21.472.

[72] Venetus, Epist. ad Schott. ap. Schottum, Hisp. Bibl. 475 quos (fratres) Lutetiae Regis Portugalliae sumptu, patruus in schola Barbarana, cui praeerat, pueros instituendos curavit; Mém. Ac. de Caen, 82-3.

[73] Cf. note 19 above.

Marçal, were students there,[74] Antonio de Gouvea naturally enough joined[75] them and enrolled in the same institution.[76] This was in the year 1527,[77] for Gouvea himself states that he lingered at Paris for seven years.[78] Since he went to Bordeaux in 1534,[79] he must have arrived there in 1527. Consequently he could not have been awarded his degree in that year.

To a thorough knowledge of law he added a growing familiarity with literature and philosophy,[80] for which he had an especial inclination. Indeed he applied himself with such zeal and enthusiasm to the study of Greek and Latin, and particularly to Aristotelian philosophy,[81] that he soon became an outstanding man among his comrades, and was even reckoned first among them.[82]

At the end of a short time his constant reading of literary masterpieces enabled him to write in Latin with considerable perfection. De Thou[83] and Freher[84] asserted that no one could write purer Latin than he, nor compose more elegant verses. Thus

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[74] Cf. note 13 above; Clement, Bibl. Cur. 9.253.II il (Antoine) s'y (Paris) rendit avec ses deux Freres Marçal et André, dont il étoit le cadet. Although these words seem to indicate that Antonio went to Paris along with his brothers, the author of them is evidently inaccurate. Gouvea's own words (see following note) prove definitely that he joined them at a later date.

[75] Gov. Epist. 1.22 accessi quartus et ipse tribus; Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.22 cum puer et literarum rudis ab Andrea Goveano, patruo, in Galliam abductus esset.

[76] Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 300 post Lutetiae sub patruo *Iacobo Goveano* Collegii Barbarani praefecto feliciter litteris operam navavit.

[77] Vaassen, Introd. 12. Duboulay (Bulaeus), however, argues that he received his degree in that year. Cf. Bulaeus, Hist. Univ. Paris. 6.919 Ant. Goveanus, Lusitanus Ulyssiponensis, iuratus an. 1527.

[78] Epist. 1.23-4 Annos detinuit populosa Lutetia septem, / crescentem studiis erudiitque bonis.

[79] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 84.

[80] Cf. Michaud, Biographie Universelle, 17.264.I.

[81] Schottus, l. c. iunxit et Graeca ac Philosophiam ex Aristotelis potissimum scriptis.

[82] Monteiro, Vita Ant. de Gouvea, ap. Dos Reys, Corp. Ill. Poet. Lusit. 7.383 Ab hisce ad graviora, severioraque Philosophiae studia se convertit; in quibus tam praestans, et eximium prae se tulit ingenium, ut inter Parisiensis Academiae Philosophos facile principem sibi locum vindicaret.

[83] Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.22 Tanta felicitate in humanioribus studiis ingenium exercuit, ut nemo purius latine scriberet, nemo versus elegantius pangeret.

[84] Theatrum Virorum Eruditione Clarorum, 2.848.II.

Gouvea made a name for himself by his poetry.[85] He also wrote at this time learned commentaries, beginning the research work on Cicero,[86] Vergil,[87] and Terence,[88] which he was to finish and publish later.

Concerning the actual length of Gouvea's term of study at the College of Sainte-Barbe, there is a difference of opinion. One of Bayle's numerous commentators[89] maintains that he spent the five years which were necessary for acquiring the degree of Master of Arts in the course of philosophy, and then devoted two additional years to the study of literature. Schottus[90] on the other hand contends that the period devoted to philosophy was only four years. Peter Maffeius,[91] in the Life of Ignatius Loyola, who was at the College of Sainte-Barbe at the same time, reduces it to even three years and a half.

The nature of the degree which he received is equally a matter of dispute[92] and as impossible to settle. In any case, whether it was that of Master of Arts or that of Doctor, it permitted him to devote himself immediately to the teaching of the humanities. After Antonio's brother Andrea had gone to Bordeaux[93] to become principal of the College of Guyenne,[94] Antonio proceded there[95] too in 1534, and taught under his direction for two or three

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[85] Feijóo, Teatro Crítico Universal, 2.207-8 Aún hoy está resonando la Francia de los elogios de Antonio de Govea . . . cultivó mucho, y felizmente la poesía. This is translated by Monteiro, Vita Ant. de Gouvea ap. Dos Reys, Corp. Ill. Poet. Lusit. 7.492 (sic!) Hisce adhuc temporibus Galliae resonant Antonii de Gouvea elogia . . . coluit nimis, feliciterque Poeticam.

[86] Cf. Opera Antonii Goveani, 12-16, Introd. 31.

[87] Cf. Ibid. 23.

[88] Cf. Ibid. 16.

[89] Cf. Vaassen, Introd. 12.bb.

[90] Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 616 quattuor philosophica stadia, quae quaternorum erant annorum.

[91] Maffeius, Ignatii Vita, 1.604 triennio et mensibus sex (quod spatium temporis curriculo philosophiae in academia illa tribuitur).

[92] Important references for the discussion of this question are Didot, Bibl. Gén. 21.472; Carvalho, Ant. de Gouv. e o Arist. da Renas.; Michaud, Biog. Univ. 17.264; Gaullieur, Hist. du Col. de Guyenne, 88.

[93] Gov. Epist. 1.30 huc (Burdigalae) frater venerat ante meus; Crevier, Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris, 5.340 . . . André de Govéa, qui fit fleurir les études des belles Lettres à Bordeaux.

[94] Lurbaeus, Chronica Burdigala, ad an. 1534.

[95] Gov. Epist. 1.29-30 Hinc me Burdigalae falcatum littus in arcum / accipit.

years.[96] In addition to the work required by his teaching position Gouvea devoted a considerable amount of time to the study of literature as well as to the writing of poetry.[97]

Devotion to the belles-lettres did not, however, satisfy Gouvea's active nature, and he was attracted to the study of law. This is not surprising, since at no other time did French schools take a more intense interest in legislation than in the sixteenth century.[98]

In 1537, Gouvea left Bordeaux to go to Toulouse.[99] After he had spent only a short time there, he proceeded to Avignon[100] where he stayed for six months,[101] devoting himself seriously to literature[102] and the legal studies that were more and more claiming his attention.[103] But, as we learn from his letters, it was something more than law that captured his interest in this city. It was here that Cupid directed a fatal arrow at his heart, and that he fell a victim to the irresistible charms of his fair Catherine.

His half year at Avignon seems to have enhanced his reputation notably.[104] He himself attributed his success to the inspiration he received from his sweetheart.[105] But at Avignon his love seems to have been blocked in some unexplained way so that he decided he must leave that city. Although, as he tells us, he did not know

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[96] Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. Nova 1.123.II Burdigalae, ludum habente Andrea Fratre, Latinas literas . . . docuit; Venetus, Epist. ad Schott. ap. Schottum, Bibl. Hisp. 475 Burdigalae, fratre ludimagistro litteras ante professus est, quam ego (Elias Vinetus) ; Zinzerling, Itinerarium Galliae, Appendix, 3.280 Antonius Goveanus I C. quum sub fratre Andrea literas in schola Burdigalensi doceret.

[97] Gov. Epist. 1.31 Hic rursum Musas studio complectimur omni.

[98] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 84.

[99] The chronology here given is that accepted by the writer as most likely, but the matter deserves a detailed discussion which must be reserved for the complete Life that is contemplated.

[100] Gov. Epist. 33-4 Hinc me post varios fatalis Avinio terras / accepit. Although these lines at the beginning of the letter give no indication of Gouvea's sojourn at Toulouse, this omission is rectified later, in lines 51-2 Istud erat cur Burdigalam, claramque Tolosam / neglexi.

[101] Cf. note 104 below.

[102] I. e. his Epigrams, which he was probably composing at this time, because the first edition appeared in 1539. Cf. Introd. 32.

[103] Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 300 Tolosae mox tanta in studio assiduitate, tantaque est usus contentione ut maiore non posset.

[104] He himself says (Epist. 1.63-4) Doctorum tenui totis sex mensibus aures; / nec fuit ingenio fama sinistra meo.

[105] Epist. 1.65-6 Quod si quem nostri forsan iuvere labores, / gratia sit meritis tota ferenda tuis.

where the gods might direct his course, he felt that he could not go far without his Catherine.[106]

Actually Gouvea went to Lyons,[107] determined to devote his entire efforts to his literary ambitions. In that very year of his arrival, 1539, he published a collection of Latin epigrams, which he revised in 1540, adding four epistolary poems.[108] In these works the author endeavors to vie with Catullus, Ovid, and Martial, of whom he gives a number of very clever imitations. In general his diction has considerable grace and fluency. His contemporaries, Blackwall,[109] De Thou,[110] Muret,[111] and Knobelsdorf,[112] as well as many others, had a high opinion of him as a Latin poet. David Clement[113] even goes so far as to say that the elegance and purity of his style could stand comparison with the best writers of the Augustan Age. In the same city Gouvea also devoted himself to editorial work on the Latin classics, notably Vergil and Terence.[114]

It was at Lyons that Gouvea became acquainted with Emile Ferret, who was destined to have a great influence upon his career. Although he did not entirely discontinue his literary endeavors, association with this famous jurisconsult, whom Gouvea[115] himself described as the foremost of his century, influenced him to such an extent that he never again turned his attention completely

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[106] Epist. 1.75-6 Quo, superi, quo me tandem, quo mittitis? Ibo / longius hinc sine te, te, Catharina, sine?

[107] Gov. De Iure Accrescendi, 41 (Vaassen, 64.II) Operam tamen annos ferme tres Lugduni dedi Aemilio Ferreto. Since Gouvea went to Paris, his next dwelling place, in 1542, he must have arrived at Lyons in 1539.

[108] I. e. the Epistles edited in this thesis as well as the Epigrams of 1539 and of 1540.

[109] Blackwallius, De Praestantia Classicorum Auctorum Commentatio, 184.

[110] Thuanus, Hist. Sui Temp. 2.467 . . . (Goveanus) Poeta elegantissimus . . . haberetur.

[111] Muretus, Opera Omnia, 2.273 Summe Poetarum, quos secula nostra tulerunt.

[112] Cnobelsdorfius, (sic!) ap. Bulaeum, Hist. Univ. Paris. 6.919 Edita quam primum laus legi tua carmina dixi, prima Poetarum laus Goveanus erit.

[113] Clement, Bibl. Cur. 9.253.II il devint un si grand Orateur, et un si bon Poëte Latin, qu'on mettoit l'élégance et la pureté de son stile en parallele, avec les meilleurs Ecrivains du Siécle d'Auguste.

[114] Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 476 *Virgilii et Terentii opera castigavit;* Vaassen, Introd. 15 eadem in urbe . . . Virgilium quoque castigavit et Terentium suis versibus restituit.

[115] Vaassen, 341 Antonii Goveani in M. Tullii Ciceronis orationem in Vatinium testem commentarius, ad Aemylium Ferrettum Iurisconsultorum facile Principem.

from legal books.[116] Gouvea shows the affection which he bore his master by calling him his second father.[117] It was to him, indeed, that he dedicated his work, In M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationem in Vatinium Testem Commentarius.[118] The esteem in which Ferret in his turn held Gouvea is evidenced by his correspondence with him.[119]

After his three years at Lyons, Gouvea returned to Paris, where he taught philosophy at the Sorbonne under his uncle, Diego de Gouvea.[120] There he was destined to play a major and brilliant rôle in one of the strangest events in the history of philosophy.[121]

In 1543, Ramus (Pierre de la Ramée)[122] renewed attacks, which he had directed against the philosophy of Aristotle, by writing his Dialecticae Partitiones and Aristotelicae Animadversiones or Animadversiones in Dialecticam Aristotelis. Three months later Gouvea published his refutation under the title Pro Aristotele Responsio Adversus Petri Rami Calumnias.[123] Each scholar had his active partisans. Eventually the hostility of the two sides increased to such an extent that it attracted the attention of the King, Francis I,[124] who ordered Ramus and Gouvea to plead their cause before five judges.[125] The decision[126] of this board that

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[116] Gouvea makes this statement seven years later in his De Iure Accres. 41 (Vaassen, 64.II) Neque ex eo tempore (annus autem hic est septimus) a libris Iurisconsultorum longius unquam oculos dimovimus.

[117] Ibid. Operam tamen annos ferme tres Lugduni dedi Aemylio Ferretto, parenti alteri meo, Iurisconsultorum memoriae nostrae facile principi: cum ille et respondendo, et monendo, et aliquid interdum veluti praelegendo, satisfaceret studio nostro civilis disciplinae.

[118] Vaassen, 342 Antonius Goveanus Aemylio Ferretto S. P. D. Mitto ad te, Aemyli, commentarium nostrum in M. Tullii Ciceronis Interrogationem Vatinii testis (neque enim mihi placet Vatinium Testem fuisse cognomento) quem dum Lutetiae sumus, sine te, hoc est sine Deo, conscripsimus.

[119] Buderus, Vitae Clarissimorum Iureconsultorum, 7-8.

[120] Antonio, Bibl. Hisp. Nova, 1.123.II Parisiis, mox apud Jacobum patruum, . . . professus; Didot, l. c.

[121] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 85.

[122] Desmaze, P. Ramus, sa Vie, ses Ecrits, sa Mort, 43.

[123] Lutetiae, 1543. (Vaassen, 787-815).

[124] Gallandius, Vita Petri Castellani, 32.

[125] Crevier, Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris, 5.391.

[126] Iudicium Decretorium de libris P. Rami a tribus (iudices ab eodem delecti Quintinus et Bomontius) censoribus Regi ablatum, quoted by Waddington, Ramus, sa Vie, ses Ecrits et ses Opinions, 47, note 1. The English translation is given by Graves, Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, 34-5.

Ramus had acted rashly, arrogantly and impudently[127] was approved by the King himself;[128] his books were outlawed, and he was forbidden to teach philosophy.

Even before the excitement caused by the defeat of Ramus had subsided, Antonio was again at Bordeaux with his brother, Andrea.[129] In the same year, 1544, Gouvea went to Toulouse, where he began his career of teaching law.[130] Less than two years later he published there two essays which proved to the world that he would one day hold an important place among jurisconsults. The first was a commentary, Ad Legem III D. Imperium, De Iurisdictione Omnium Iudicum;[131] the second, his De Iure Accrescendi.[132] This dissertation was especially successful, and called the attention of academic circles to him as a new interpreter of Roman law. There were some who asserted that Gouvea was still too young to write on the subject,[133] but the merit of this latter work, witnessed by numerous editions,[134] was the best proof of his ability and the best answer to such an objection.

Gouvea began his teaching of law at Toulouse[135] shortly after Cujas. This position, however, he occupied for only a few months, since in August, 1549, he became a member of the faculty of the University of Cahors,[136] a neighboring and rival institution.

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[127] Bulaeus, Hist. Univ. Paris. 6.394 *Censuerunt Ramum temere, arroganter et impudenter fecisse.*

[128] Regium Edictum found in full in La Croix du Maine, Bibliothèque Françoise, 2.313 s. v. Pierre de la Ramée; Launoius, Opera Omnia, 4.173; Niceron, Mémoires des Hommes Illustres, 13.266. This decree of Francis I is partially translated in Graves, l. c. 36-7.

[129] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 91.

[130] Vaassen, Introd. 19. cr.

[131] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 92.

[132] Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 301 Tolosae 6 antea anno Andreae natura atque animo fratri, beneficiis vero parenti, librum *de iure accrescendi* inscripsit.

[133] Gov. De Iure Accres., 41 (Vaassen, 64.I). Duo autem reprehensorum genera nostris laboribus opponuntur: aliis, (sic!) quod sine duce Bartolo scribam non placet, cum quo errare etiam honeste possem: praepropere alii et praefestinate scribere aiunt hominem in hoc studio nondum senem.

[134] Toulouse, 1545, 1549, 1554; Worms, 1661.

[135] Joecher, Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon, 2.1099; Mém. Ac. de Caen, 94; Moréri, Dict. Hist. 4.168.

[136] Maludanus, Epist. ad Lambinum, (352 ap. Collectio Epistolarum Clarorum Virorum Io. Mich. Bruti) Scripta XIII Kal. Sextileis, 1549 Iam hic cum Rupaeo Goveanum tuum habemus, quem heri ob os apud suos auditores in caelum Petrucia laudibus extulit.

In September, Gouvea married Catherine Dufour, daughter of the president of the local 'parlement' of Toulouse,[137] a girl of noble birth[138] endowed with beauty and in the flower of youth.[139]

Up to this time Gouvea had published only a small amount in the field of law, namely, the two works just mentioned. More important publications were the result of his teaching at Cahors, e. g., his treatise, De Iurisdictione, Variae Lectiones, the Ad Legem Gallus (sic!), and several additional works.[140] Cujas, who was still young, was so enthusiastic about the talent of which the new commentator gave proof, that he did not hesitate to state that no interpreter of Roman law had surpassed or even equalled Antonio de Gouvea.[141]

Because of the low salaries paid in the universities of this period, the professors made frequent changes of position. This may have been Gouvea's reason for his departure from Cahors in 1554 to accept a chair at the University of Valence.[142] Here he composed his commentaries under the title of De Vulgari et Pupillari Substitione.[143] In spite of the desire of the people of Valence, especially of Bishop Jean de Montluc, to retain him, Gouvea went to the University of Grenoble in October, 1555.[144]

During the seven years that he taught in this new position (i. e., until May, 1562) Gouvea produced some notable works.[145] Thus

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[137] Vaassen, Introd. 21.

[138] Ibid. 20 matrimonio sibi iunxit puellam nobilitate illustrem.

[139] Joly, Remarques Critiques sur le Dictionnaire de Bayle, 97 Virginem et forma et aetatis flore pulchre dotatam idibus septembris demum duxit.

[140] Cf. Opera Ant. Gov., Introd. 30.

[141] Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.22 in qua (i. e. the profession of law) rursus exiguo tempore tantos progressus fecit, rationem veram enodandarum ex antiquitate spinosarum juris quaestionum statim animo complexus, ut *Iacobus Cuiacius*, cum Tolosae ante undecim annos in Ulpiani titulos scriberet, jam tum testatum reliquerit, *Goveanum ex omnibus iuris Iustinianei Interpretibus, quotquot sunt aut fuere, unum esse, cui, si quaeratur, quis excellat, palma deferenda sit.*

[142] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 98.

[143] Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 301 Valentiae Delphinatus anno a Christo nato 1555 ad tit. *de vulgari et pupillari substitutione* dictabat.

[144] Nadal, Histoire de l'Université de Valence, 58.

[145] On the stay of Gouvea at Grenoble, see Berriat-Saint-Prix, Histoire de l'Ancienne Université de Grenoble, 22-36.

in the next year he dedicated to Pierre Bucher[146] the first part of the Ad Legem Falcidiam.[147] Having completed this study during the following years, he published the complete commentary in 1560 (this time dedicated to the Chancellor, Michel de L'Hospital), and also the commentary Animadversiones Iuris Civilis.[148]

The presence of Gouvea brought such glory to the Faculty of the University of Grenoble that the memory of it has not even yet died. The numbers of his followers steadily grew. In fact, they increased so rapidly that the municipality had to make arrangements for the housing of the crowds of young men.[149]

As a teacher, Gouvea showed that he was a man of great intelligence and widely read in all kinds of literature. This became particularly clear in his struggles against Ramus. In addition he was so thoroughly acquainted with the French language that his foreign origin could not be suspected.[150] No one prepared more carefully the questions which he was to set before his auditors, a fact which explains perhaps the limited amount of his writings. He himself once said to the Chancellor, Michel de L'Hospital:[151] The preparation of my courses occupies so much of my time that I have almost no leisure moments. In addition, the treatises which I have already published are still imperfect and need retouching and completion. These are my oral lectures, collected by diligent auditors, which I publish, after changing a few words. Those who believe that it is easy to write books while engaged in the tasks and the occupations of a professorship do not understand

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[146] Cf. Opera Ant. Gov. 10, Introd. 30.

[147] Schottus, l. c. Gratianopoli *ad Legem Falcidiam,* quae perdifficilis est, dictabat.

[148] Cf. Opera Ant. Gov.

[149] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 100.

[150] Scaliger, Scaligerana, 174 Goveanus Doctus erat vir, et valens Dialecticus, optimus Poeta Gallicus: nec enim Hispanum judicaveris, adeo bene Gallice loquebatur.

[151] Gov. Ad Legem Falcidiam, Praef. (Vaassen, 224) praelectionibus adeo opera omnis nostra occupatur, ut scriptioni temporis nihil propemodum supersit. Itaque, quae nostra hodie leguntur rudia, impolita, modo nascentibus similia, nobis docentibus ac verba fundentibus ab auditore non omnino indiligente excepta, paucis commutatis verbis publicum acceperunt. Qui in hac laboriosissima et occupatissima docendi assiduitate perfici aliquid scribendo posse putant, ii meo quidem iudicio, neque difficultatis rei, neque otii nostri rationes recte subductas habent.

the difficulties which this position involves, and entertain illusions about the leisure time which a professor has at his disposal.

At Grenoble Gouvea's salary was increased, and he would undoubtedly have ended his life there, where he would have found a peace and calm agreeable to his tastes, had not the religious wars caused chaos and confusion in all the universities.[152] Without concerning himself with the departure of his friends and colleagues, nor with the violence which was going on around him,[153] Gouvea endeavored to stay at Grenoble until the Faculty could resume its courses of study.[154] But only misfortune awaited him. For several young advocates, one-time students of his, towards whom he had always shown the greatest sympathy, violently attacked him. The principal offender was the lawyer, Marc Antoine, whom a short time before Gouvea had praised in his Lectiones Variae, calling him 'homo doctissimus et humanissimus.'[155]

Since Gouvea despaired of seeing peace return to Dauphiny, he decided to leave France even at a time when he was enjoying the highest esteem and the greatest reputation.[156] He accepted the invitation of Marguerite de Valois, the Duchess of Berry and Savoy, to seek protection at her court.[157] He first taught law at the University of Mondovi, which Duke Emmanuel Philibert had just founded in 1559.[158] Later, when this institution and the Senate of Carigan[159] were transferred to Turin,[160] Gouvea accompanied his colleagues, and received a handsome income from the prince.[161] The latter also appointed him a counsellor in his private cabinet.[162]

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[152] Didot, Bibl. Gén. 17.473.
[153] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 109.
[154] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 109; Didot, l. c.
[155] Lectiones Variae, 2.11.
[156] Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.23 quorum (impolitorum Interpretum) tantus numerus est, mole rejecta, et ardente apud nos bello e Gallia, quam summopere dilexerat, in Italiam pulsus.
[157] Thuanus, l. c. et in aula *Philiberti*, Sabaudiae Ducis, Margaritae commendatione honestum otium nactus.
[158] Guichenon, Histoire de la Maison de Savoie, 678.
[159] Ibid. 685.
[160] Schottus, Hisp. Bibl. 301 Taurinis Allobrogum decessisse fertur libellorum supplicum Magister apud Sabaudiae Regulum.
[161] Clement, Bibl. Cur. 9.254.I.
[162] Schottus, l. c. Consiliarius annos natus vix sexaginta; Thuanus, l. c. nam et in privatum Principis consilium Senator cooptatus est.

Since Catherine Dufour, his first wife, had died,[163] Gouvea married Lucrezia Guerilla, the daughter of one of the senators of Turin.[164] Later, he himself was appointed a member of the Senate of Piedmont.[165] Gouvea had three children by his first marriage, all sons, Mainfroi, Perolte or Pierre, a preacher, and Jantet, a mathematician.[166] It is the eldest, Mainfroi de Gouvea, who is especially known. He, like his father, had the honor of a chair in the Senate of Piedmont, and composed some poetical works.[167]

Gouvea was not fated to enjoy for long the honorable peace and calm which characterized these years of his career, for on March 5, 1565, he died at the age of sixty[168] from indigestion brought on by eating melons.[169] He was buried at Turin, where the following epitaph, the work of Philibert de Pingon, Duke of Cusy, was dedicated to him:

> Vatibus et linguis, sophiae jurique Quirino
> praefuit; has curas, hasque volebat opes.
> Stirps numerosa, sequax, hominumque caterva peritum.
> Sensa remota quidem, prisca sed una fides.
> Principibus placuit, cumulatus honoribus. Uxor
> ducta, seni florens; haec Goveanus, obit.[170]

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[163] Vaassen, Introd. 23; Didot, l. c.
[164] Didot, Bibl. Gén. 21.473.
[165] Berriat-Saint-Prix, Histoire du Droit Romain, suivie de l'Histoire de Cujas, 515.
[166] Vaassen, Introd. 24.dt.
[167] Catinus, Testimonium de Catharina Furnia (Vaassen, 56).
[167] Didot, Biog. Gen. 19.475.
[168] Cf. note 28 above.
[169] Thuanus Enucleatus, 2.23 morbo ex immodico peponum esu contracto.
[170] Mém. Ac. de Caen, 111, note 2, 112.

OPERA ANTONII GOVEANI

The Works of Antonio de Gouvea

Juridical Works

1 Antonius Goveanus ad Legem 3 D. (sic!) Imperium, de Iurisdictione Omnium Iudicum. Ad Ioannem Corasum. Tolosae, 10 Cal. Mart. 1545.

2 De Iurisdictione Libri 2 adversus Eguinarium Baronem, Iureconsultum. Ad Petrum Castellanum, Episcopum Matisconensem et Magnum Galliae Eleemosynarium. Cadurci, Non. Feb. 1330.

3 De Iure Accrescendi Liber. Ad Andream Goveanum, Fratrem. Tolosae, Id. Aug. 1545.

4 De Iure Accrescendi Liber (Repetita Praelectio). Tolosae, Id. Aug. 1549.

5 Ad Legem Gallus (sic!) 29. De Liberis et Posthumis Haeredibus Instituendis vel Exhaeredandis Liber. Ad Petrum Bertrandum, Abbatem Grandisylvae. Cadurci, Id. Aug. 1553.

6 Ad Titulum de Vulgari et Pupillari Substitutione Liber (Praelectio Prior). Ad Manfredum de Cardallacco, Eleemosynarium Regium, et Cadurcensis Academiae Cancellarium. Cadurci, Id. Aug. 1553.

7 Ad Titulum de Vulgari et Pupillari Substitutione (Repetita Praelectio). Ad Ioannem Truchium, V. C. Delphinatus Praesidem. Gratianopoli, Cal. Aug. 1556.

8 Lectionum Variarum Iuris Civilis Liber Primus. Ad Iacobum Fabrum, Medicum Pariensem, Archidiaconum Montisalbani. Cadurci, Cal. Ian. 1554.

9 Lectionum Variarum Iuris Civilis Liber Secundus. Ad Gulielmum de la Chesnaye, Consiliarium in Consilio Parisiensi.

10 Ad Titulum ad Legem Falcidiam. Ad Petrum Bucherum, Procurorem Regis in Senatu Gratianopolitano. Gratianopoli, 8 Cal. Feb. 1556. Ad Michaelem Hospitalium, Galliae Cancellarium. Gratianopoli, Id. Mart. 1560.

11 Animadversionum Liber. Ad Petrum Bertrandum, Cadurcorum Episcopum, Gratianopoli, Id. Mart. 1560.

Other Literary Works

12 In M. Tullii Ciceronis Orationem in Vatinium Testem Commentarius. Ad Aemylium Ferrettum, Iurisconsultorum Facile Principem. Lutetiae, 6 Cal. Sep. 1542.

13 In Primos Duos Libros Epistolarum M. Tullii Ciceronis ad T. Pomponium Atticum Commentarius. Ad Ioannem Bellaium Langeum, Romanae Ecclesiae Presbyterum Cardinalem. Lutetiae, Id. Nov. 1544.

14 Commentarius in M. Tullii Ciceronis ad C. Trebatium Topica. Ad Ioannem Mansencallum, Primum Tolosae Praesidem. Tolosae, Id. Feb. 1545.

15 In M. Tullii Ciceronis Libros de Legibus Annotationes. Parisiis, 1552.

16 Terentii Comoediae ex Castigatione et cum Praefatione Goveani. Ad Guillelmum Bellaium Langeum. Lugduni, 1541.

17 Epigrammatum Libri Duo (Editio Prior). Ad Iacobum Belnaeum. Lugduni, 3 Cal. Maias 1539.

18 Epigrammata (Repetita Editio). Eiusdem Quatuor Epistolae ad Catharinam inscriptae Ioanni Alenio. Lugduni, 10 Cal. Feb. 1540.

19 Carmina Inedita et Bibliotheca Vaticana. (Primum ex Bibliotheca Vaticana in Lucem Editi, Vaassen, 1766.)

20 Goveani pro Aristotele Responsio adversus Petri Rami Calumnias. Ad Iacobum Spifamium, Gymnasii Parisiensis Cancellarium. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 5 Cal. Dec. 1543.

Editions of Epigrams and Letters

A, Antonii Goveani Epigrammatum Libri Duo, Apud Seb. Gryphium, Lugduni, 1539. [In the reprint of Vaassen, (see below) 679-91.]

B, Antonii Goveani Epigrammata et Epistolae Quatuor, Apud Seb. Gryphium, Lugduni, 1540. [In the reprint of Vaassen, (see below) 692-706.] The epigrams in this edition rarely repeat those of the first, and even where they do, there are notable verbal changes, as is clear from my edition of those that were addressed to Catherine, e. g. Epigr. 1.15.

Vaassen, Antonii Goveani, Opera Iuridica, Philologica, Philosophica, edited by Van Vaassen, Roterdami, 1766. This is the most complete collection of Gouvea's works. So far as the epigrams are concerned, he prints both the above editions in complete form.

Dos Reys, Corpus Illustrium Poetarum Lusitanorum, Lisbcnae, 1748, 7.379-455. Here the first edition of the epigrams is reprinted.

Although I had access to A and B in the libraries of Paris, these works are apparently not in this country. Consequently, I have had to base my text on Vaassen, which is supposed to be an exact reproduction of the original works.

In the original publication the punctuation does not accord with modern usage; for instance, vocatives are not set off by commas. Also colons often take the place of commas or semicolons. I have therefore made the necessary changes. Throughout the thesis, where necessary, I have expanded abbreviations in Latin for typographical reasons.

Catharina Bofremontana

In his Latin letters[1] Gouvea addresses his sweetheart simply as Catharina, but we find in the headings[2] of the first edition[3] of the epigrams the fuller name Catharina Bofremontana. Nobody has questioned that they are the same woman, and in default of any evidence to the contrary, we shall consider that she is the sweetheart of his letters. It may be noted, however, that Carvalho,[4] without adducing any evidence, instead of assigning her to the Beauffremont family considers her to have been Catherine Dufour, whom Gouvea actually married in 1549.[5] The latter was a woman of Toulouse, where her father Pierre Dufour was president of the local 'parlement.' Our Catherine, on the other hand, belonged to Avignon[6] and some consideration of the family to which we believe that she belonged may be in place here.

The house of Beauffremont was a powerful and illustrious one dating from the end of the eleventh[7] or from the beginning of the twelfth century.[8] The various bearers of this name, who were distinguished in history,[9] belong apparently to the same family, although the existing documents are often insufficient to prove their exact relationship.[10] Authorities differ on the place of origin of the family, whether it came originally from Burgundy,[11] Lorraine,[12] or the Vosges. It furnished several generals to the French and Spanish armies, four chevaliers of the Toison d'Or, five of the St. Esprit, five presidents of the assemblies of the nobility at the Etats-Généraux of the kingdom. Various additional titles of great distinction fell to the lot of the family.[13]

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1 The Epistolae Quatuor which are edited in this thesis.
2 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam.
3 A, the edition of 1539. Cf. pages 35-6.
4 In António de Gouveia e o Aristotelismo da Renasçenca, 39.
5 Cf. Introd. 26.
6 Cf. Epist. 1.34-5.
7 Bulletin de la Société Héraldique et Généalogique de France, 1879, 24.
8 Ibid. 79.
9 Imhoff, Excellentium Familiarum in Gallia Genealogiae, 125.
10 Cf. note 8 above.
11 Saint-Allais, Nobiliaire de la France, 30.
12 Didot, Bibl. Gén. 4.803.
13 Cf. note 8 above.

Since references in Gouvea's poems attest the lofty lineage of Catherine, we may well believe that she was a member of the distinguished house that we have been describing. But extensive research in genealogical and historical works has revealed no actual mention of her. Among the works consulted are the following:

Anselme de Sainte Marie, Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France, Paris, 1726-33. 9 vols.
Artefeuil, Histoire Héroïque et Universelle de la Noblesse de Provence, Avignon, 1757-9. 3 vols.
Barjavel, C. F. H., Dictionnaire Historique, Biographique et Bibliographique du Département de Vaucluse, Carpentras, 1841. 2 vols.
Bégin, E. A., Histoire des Duchés de Lorraine et de Bar, et des Trois Evêchés, Metz, 1836.
Behr, Kamill von, Genealogie, Leipzig, 1854. 2 vols.
Bermann (De), Dissertation Historique sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie et la Noblesse de Lorraine, Nancy, 1763.
Bulletin de la Société Héraldique et Généalogique de France, Paris, 1879-1900. 19 vols. in 9 books.
Chantereau-LeFebvre, Louis, Mémoires sur l'Origine des Maisons et Duchés de Lorraine et de Bar-le-Duc, Paris, 1642. This work includes as its first part: Considérations Historiques sur la Généalogie de la Maison de Lorraine, Paris, 1642.
Chapellier, [Jean-Charles], Essai Historique sur Beaufremont, son Château, et ses Barons, Epinal, 1860. 2 vols.
Chevrier, [François-Antoine], Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Hommes Illustres de Lorraine, Bruxelles, 1754. 2 vols.
Des Essarts, Alfred, Les Célébrités Françaises, Paris, 1862.
Gatterer, Johann Christoph, Handbuch der neusten Genealogie. Nurnberg, 1762.
Gollut, Loys, Les Mémoires Historiques de la République Séquanoise et des Princes de la Franche-Comté de Bourgogne, Besançon, 1846.
Gundlach, O., Bibliotheca Familiarum Nobilium, Neustrelitz, 1897. 2 vols. in 1.
Havard, O., Les Femmes Illustres de la France, Tours, 1885.
Hozier, Louis Pierre de, Armorial Général de la France, Paris, 1821-3. 2 vols.
Imhoff, Iacobus Wilhelmus, Excellentium Familiarum in Gallia Genealogiae a prima earundem origine usque ad praesens aevum deductae, Norimbergae, 1687.
Pelletier, Ambroise, Nobiliaire, ou Armorial Général de la Lorraine, et du Barrois, en forme de Dictionnaire, Nancy, 1758. 1 vol. (no more published).
Pithou-Curt, J. A., Histoire de la Noblesse du Comté Venaissin, d'Avignon et de la Principauté d'Orange, Paris, 1743-50.
Saint-Allais [Nicolas Viton de], Nobiliaire Universel de France, Paris, 1872-7. 21 vols.
Sainte-Marthe, Louis de, Histoire Généalogique de la Maison de France, Paris, 1647.
Ungerini, A., Manuel de Bibliographie Biographique et d'Iconographie de Femmes Célèbres, Turin et Paris, 1892.

In addition to the four Latin letters edited in this thesis, Gouvea dedicated many of his epigrams to Catherine de Bauffremont. They are numbers 1, 12, 23, 36, 40, 49, 53, 56 of Book I of the edition of 1539 (i. e. A) and numbers 1, 13, 21, 28, 33, 38 of Book II. In addition the edition of 1540 (i. e. B) contains numbers 37, 55, 59, 74, 94 and 96, which do not appear in A.

The following pages, in which A is used as the primary text, contain the epigrams addressed to Catherine.

ANTONII GOVEANI EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER PRIMUS

1 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Sume patrocinium nostri, Catharina, libelli,
cum domino valde qui cupit esse tuus.
Quod non ante dedi, dare nunc, Catharina, licebit;
in dominum scis me iuris habere nihil.

Note. This *apparatus criticus* gives the numbers of the corresponding epigrams in B and all textual variations. If no number appears, the epigram is not included in the second edition.

This poem is number 2 in B with the title Catharinae.

12 Ad Cath. Bof. e Gallicis Marotti

Me nive candenti petiit Catharina; putabam
igne carere nivem; nix tamen ignis erat.
Non est una fides, non experientia fallax,
sensi etenim subitis corda cremata rogis.
Ergo ubi tutus ero, nivibus si conditur ardor,
effugiamque tuas, saeve Cupido, faces?
Tu, Catharina, potes subitas extinguere flammas,
non glacie aut nivibus, marmoreis vel aquis.
Sed si quae patior, poenae quoque sentiat autor,
et nostrum flamma flagret uterque pari.

This poem is number 15 in B with the title Catharinae. E Gal. Clem. Marotti.

1 Dum, Catharina, petis nive me candente, putabam
3 En, quid agam, fallax nivibus si conditur ardor,
4 si latet adstricta frigus, et ignis aqua?
5 An, Catharina, meo vivit quae in corde favilla,
6 crescit frigoribus, vincitur igne pari?
7, 8, 9, 10 *desunt.*

23 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Sint tibi, sint quamvis, nullae virtutibus, alto
iudicio, antiqua nobilitate pares,
nil mirum; tibi quae summi tribuere deorum
quis Catharina potest, aut petere aut capere?

36 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Si te, flaventeisque comas, oculumque nitentem,
labraque purpureis vividiora rosis,
si decus hoc rarum, divinum si oris honorem
(ne quid ego videar dicere forte nimis)
incessumque gravem, qualem iurem esse dearum,
si, quae est virtutum gratia blanda comes,
si, quae est nobilitas ab avis proavisque relicta,
quae potuit meritis esse profecta tuis,
miror, amoque meo quae gratia debita amori est?
Fac siquidem nolim, cogar amare tamen.

40 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Parce mihi, si quod mirari debeo, miror,
amoque officii oblitus mei.
Et facies; siquidem nulli fas dicere, sis ne
divinior, an humanior.

49 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Tum dabo pro xeniis tibi me, Catharina, lubenter,
reddideris postquam me, Catharina, mihi.

This poem is number 51 in B with the title Catharinae. 1 xenio.

53 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Saepius ardenti per laudes ire tuorum,
perque tuas, titubat si, Catharina, manus,
culpa tua est; siqua esse potest in numine culpa,
ingenium vati surripis omne tuo.

56 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Te, quaeso, primam specie virtutis in omni
quis dicat, cum sit nulla secunda tibi?

ANTONII GOVEANI EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER SECUNDUS

1 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Si, Catharina, tuum nomen mea pagina sumpsit,
inque patrocinium se dedit ipsa tuum,
nil mirum; quae digna fuit fortasse perire,
vindice se tali vivere posse putat.

13 Catharina Bofremontana ad Lauram

Parce mei, quaeso, Goveani temnere Musam,
Petrarcha, nimium Laura superba tuo.
Crede mihi, scribit quo plura Petrarcha disertus,
hoc eius distat mens ab amore magis.
Cui non suffuratur Amor de corpore sensus,
iudicium? Memorem quem sinit esse sui?
Ergo meum non ingenio cessisse Petrarchae
credideris vatem, plus sed amasse tuo.

21 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Si Laurae, Catharina, par haberis,
quam tantam eximius poeta fecit,
hoc, Laura, potes esse maior ipsa,
quo me maior erat Petrarcha vates.

28 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Vincis me ingenio, lepore, forma,
vincis nobilitate, vincis omni
virtutum genere omnium optimarum;
vincis, non nego, nec negare possum,
ignorant sed amor meus fidesque
vinci, et sola movent rebellionem.

33 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Te primum ut vidi magnorum munere divum,
quaerebas nomen dissimulare tuum.
Ast Amor auriculam, subito miseratus amantem,
vellit, et admonuit nominis ipse tui.
Haesi equidem, obtutum longum defixus in unum;
deceptus tanquam sustinuique fidem.
Quid dubitas? Ait ille: "Deo crede, impie, crede."
Huic ego contra, hominis nomen habere deam?

38 Ad Catharinam Bofremontanam

Vivere si nostri possint, Catharina, labores,
et tandem a sera posteritate legi,
gratia multa tibi; siquidem meliore Camoena
dignior, in nostro es carmine passa legi;
ut magno felix debet quod Laura Petrarchae,
debeat id tandem pagina nostra tibi.

Epigrams contained in B, which do not appear in A. (Note that this edition has no division into books.)

37 Catharinae

Ab amore mercedem expectem, qui neque quantum sim
promeritus, videt, neque expendere per aetatem potest?
En quid servire et puero et caeco?

55 Catharinae

Si quaeris Lugdunensi quid agamus in urbe,
teque etiam nostri tangere cura potest,
conqueror ignavam luci succedere noctem,
humecto lacrymis decipioque diem.
At lacrymis crudelis Amor non vincitur ullis;
e media cuius edita mater aqua.

59 Memoriae Sempiternae

Viventi Catharinae posuit Goveanus:
Qui mortuae neque deesse poterat, neque superesse.

74 Catharinae

Confiteor, duro longum obluctatus amori,
  nolebam pueri subdere colla iugo.
Implorabam amens doctas cum fratre sorores,
  et venatricis numina casta deae.
Non mihi Phoebus opem misero, non Musa ferebat,
  non canibus toties Delia visa meis.
Vicisti; vicisse tamen tibi gloria nulla.
  Mollis homo cecidit vulnere diva tuo.

94 Memoriae Sempiternae

Cercopithecus Catharinae, qui hic iacet viator,
cum tridui dominae absentiam ferre non posset,
vita decessit. Animali homo mortem non invideam?

96 Catharinae

Alma fave dixi gemini dea mater amoris;
  respexit vatem casta Diana suum.
Obstupui, divaeque manus cum voce tetendi,
  sum dea, sum casti miles amoris ego.
Illa nihil subitoque oculos aversa refugit.
  Hem, nequedum miseret te, Catharina, mei?
Urar ego? Moriar prudensque sciensque vidensque?
  Sitque mihi vitae consuluisse nefas?

ANTONII GOVEANI EPISTOLAE QUATUOR

Epistola Prima

Goveanus Catharinae

En, Catharina, tibi, quam non fortasse requiris,
  a Lusitano littera missa viro.
Quae tibi non potuit praesenti dicere lingua,
  nescio quo potuit scribere dextra modo.
Ter calamus cecidit digitis, ter verba negavit
  Musa, ter inceptos destituitque sonos.
Ter conatus ego fletus cohibere, ter illi
  uberius gravidis prosiluere genis.

Tit. Quatuor: this form is found in late Latin manuscripts, although the normal classical spelling is *tt*. Throughout his works Gouvea prefers the spelling with a single *t*, e. g. Epigr. 1.13.1; De Versibus Terentianis (Vaassen, 529.I); Pro Aristotele Responsio (Vaassen, 792.I; 795.II; 796.I; 797.II; 798.II; 811.I; 814.II). He was not alone in adopting this orthography, since his adversary, Ramus (cf. Introd. 24-5), likewise used it, e. g. Animadversiones Aristotelicae, 15.324. To the spelling with one *t* Du Cange gives the preference in his dictionary, e. g. *quatuorangulatilis, quatuordecimus, quatuordenarius, quatuorviri,* etc.

1 Catharina: i. e. Catherine de Beauffremont, the sweetheart of Gouvea's letters and epigrams. For an account of her family and importance, cf. Introd. 33. For the text of the epigrams addressed to her, cf. Introd. 35-9.

1 tibi: in these poems Gouvea follows the usage of classical Latin in considering the final *i* of *mihi* and *tibi* as common. It is long here, as in nineteen other cases, which is a high percentage, short in thirty-five, and indeterminable in seven, when it comes at the end of a line or when elision occurs.

1 quam . . . requiris: Gouvea's infatuation seems to be much greater than Catherine's, or very possibly the lady feigns coldness and indifference according to the dictates of tradition and convention. Cf. Epigr. 1.12 Me nive candenti petiit Catharina; putabam / igne carere nivem; nix tamen ignis erat, . . .

2 Lusitano: cf. Introd. 13. Line 17 of this letter informs the reader that Beia, Portugal, was the birthplace of Antonio de Gouvea.

2 littera: the singular form is often used by poets for the plural *litterae* meaning 'letter', e. g. Tib. 3.2.27; Ov. Epist. 3.1 Quam legis a rapta Briseide littera venit; 5.2; Met. 9.516; Mart. 10.73.1.

THE FOUR LETTERS OF ANTONIO DE GOUVEA

First Letter

Gouvea to Catherine

Here is a letter which perhaps you do not desire, Catherine, sent to you by a Lusitanian. Somehow or other my right hand could write what my tongue could not say to you in person. Three times the pen dropped from my fingers, three times the Muse denied me expression, and three times she checked my half-formed words. Three times I tried to hold back my tears, three times they poured forth more abundantly from my weighted eyes. At

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4 NESCIO: has short *o* because of iambic shortening, since *nesciō* could not be used in the pentameter. Cf. *quaesŏ*, line 79 below. This shortening was extended to the final vowels of words with long penults in silver Latin and later. Examples in Gouvea's poems are: ordŏ, line 74 below; Epist. 3.2 nemŏ; 4.55 ergŏ. These words regularly retained a final long vowel until the Empire, but sometimes they occurred in older Latin with a short vowel (cf. Dr. Roland G. Kent, The Sounds of Latin, 128.II).

5-8 TER . . . TER . . . TER: this is an instance of anaphora or repetition for emphasis and stylistic reasons. The same words occur again in Epigr. Praef. 21 (Vaassen, 693) Ter conatus ego pedibus me credere, ter me / conantem tardi deseruere pedes. For parallel examples in classical Latin, see Ov. Epist. 4.7-8 Ter tecum conata loqui ter inutilis haesit / lingua, ter in primo destitit ore sonus; 14.45-6 ter acutum sustulit ensem, / ter male sublato reccidit ense manus; 17 (=18).33-4 Ter mihi deposita est in sicca vestis harena; / ter grave temptavi carpere nudus iter; Trist. 1.3.55 Ter limen tetigi, ter sum revocatus.

7 FLETUS: this noun is equivalent to *lacrimae*. For other instances of this concrete meaning, see Prop. 1.4.23 Nullas illa suis contemnet fletibus aras; 1.16.48 fletibus aeterna differor invidia; Ov. Met. 11.657 fletu super ora refuso; 11.672 fletus quoque fundere veros.

8 GENIS: one is tempted to give this word its usual meaning of 'cheeks', and consider it an ablative of place where. But the adjective *gravidis* would then be somewhat difficult to interpret (i. e. on the cheeks heavy with tears!). Since *genae* is used elsewhere in poetry by metonymy as equivalent to *oculi*, the translation 'eyes' seems best. Cf. Prop. 3.12 (=4.11).26 exustaeque tuae mox, Polypheme, genae; 4 (=5).5.16 cornicum immeritas eruit ungue genas; Ov. Epist. 19 (=20).206 restiterim fixis in tua membra genis. In one instance Ovid uses *genae* to mean the 'sockets of the eyes', Met. 13.562 expellitque genis oculos.

Tandem ubi per lacrymas licuit, sed flebilis orsa est,
singultu tremulos excutiente sonos.
Aspice verborum caecasque rudesque figuras;
aspice, quam multis multa litura locis.
Da veniam lacrymis (veniam, Catharina, merentur)
si minus est oculis littera digna tuis.
Venimus huc, credo, fatis autoribus ambo;
et patrium moestus liquit uterque solum.

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9 LACRYMAS: the spelling of this word with *y* is normal in late Latin in imitation of *υ* in Greek words and is found in many manuscripts copied in this period. The printed texts of Gouvea are consistent in showing the spelling *lacryma* throughout the letters as well as in his epigrams. In addition, see Adonis 21 (Vaassen, 707) lacrymabile corpus; Versus 23.12 (Vaassen, 715) cum multis . . . lacrymis. He also wrote *silva* as *sylva,* e. g. Epist. 3.85 sylvas; 4.87 sylvam. Du Cange lists a number of words built on the same stem which offer this variation between *i* and *y*.

9 The presence of *sed* makes this line very elliptical. It is probably equivalent to *tandem littera orsa est sed orsa est flebilis.*

9 FLEBILIS: *littera* is to be understood as the subject of *orsa est* and *flebilis* seems to mean that the letter was a tearful one, in that Gouvea was still crying, although not so hard that he could not write.

10 The words occurring in this line bear some resemblance in both phrasing and meaning to Ov. Am. 3.9.12 oraque singultu concutiente sonant, and Trist. 1.3.42 singultu medios impediente sonos. Another ablative absolute construction introduced by *singultu* is found in Met. 11.420 singultuque pias interrumpente querellas.

10 EXCUTIENTE SONOS: although the use of these two words together does not seem to occur in classical Latin, there are a number of interesting combinations of this verb with nouns of similar meaning to *sonos.* Cf. Cic. Sull. 8.24 Qui si attulerint nervos et industriam, mihi crede, excutient tibi istam verborum iactationem; Tib. 2.6.11–2 Magna loquor, sed magnifice mihi magna locuto / excutiunt clausae fortia verba fores; Sen. Tro. 575 Magnifica verba mors prope admota excutit.

11 CAECASQUE RUDESQUE FIGURAS: this evidently refers to the shaky and uncertain appearance of the letters resulting from the labored efforts of the writer. Propertius speaks of letters of an uncertain outline, due to his right hand's being faint in death, 4.3 (=5.3).5-6 aut si qua incerto fallet te littera tractu, / signa meae dextrae iam morientis erunt.

12 MULTA LITURA: it seems that Gouvea did not intend to recopy his letter, but left the erasures to play on his lady's sympathy and compassion. This was no new trick, since Ovid had resorted to it long before him, Epist. 15.98 adspice, quam sit in hoc multa litura loco!

last, when my weeping permitted, the letter was begun, but begun with my tears still flowing and amid the sounds of convulsive sobbing. Mark the obscure and imperfect form of the words. See how much erasure there has been in many places. Pardon my tears (for they deserve pardon, Catherine) if my letter is less worthy of your eyes than it should be.

We have both come to this place, I believe, under the guidance of the Fates; and in grief we both left the soil of our native

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13 DA VENIAM: in Ovid's Heroides, many expressions of which Gouvea has imitated in these letters, this same phrase occurs very frequently at the beginning of a line, e. g. Epist. 7.105; 16 (=17).225.

15 HUC: i. e. Lyons, since it was there in the year 1540, that Gouvea published these epistles with edition B of his epigrams. Cf. Epigr. 55.1 Si quaeris Lugdunensi quid agamus in urbe; and Introd. 23.

15 AUTORIBUS: this word was usually spelled *auctoribus* in classical times. Gouvea also uses another unclassical form, *author,* but seems to prefer *autor;* e. g. Epigr. 1.12.9; Pro Aristotele Responsio (Vaassen, 787.I; 796.II) autoritate. Lindsay (Latin Language, 89) uses this word *autor* to illustrate the reduction in late times of *tt* to *t* after a diphthong. It is already censored in the Appendix Probi (Prob. App. Gramm. 4.198.30 K.), which means that it was current and is found in late inscriptions (CIL 8.1423; cf. 12.2058 of 491 A.D. AVTHOREM). In this word the *t* represents *tt* for the original *ct.*

15 AMBO: i. e. both Gouvea and Catherine, by some strange chance or coincidence, arrived at Lyons about the same time. The word *ambo* is usually used of two objects the duality of which is assumed as already known (cf. Verg. Aen. 6.496 manusque ambas); when not already known, they are designated by *duo* (cf. Plaut. Am. 5.1.56-7 angues . . . duo / maxumi). In using *ambo* Gouvea implies that mutual affection has united his life and personality with Catherine's. Cf. Char. Gramm. 1.65 K. Ambo autem non est dicendum, nisi de his qui uno tempore quid faciunt, ut puta Eteocles et Polynices ambo perierunt quasi una; Romulus autem et Africanus non ambo triumphaverunt, sed uterque, quia diverso tempore. In poetry, however, *ambo* is often equivalent to *duo,* e. g. Verg. Aen. 6.540 partis ubi se via findit in ambas, i. e. 'into two'.

16 MOESTUS = MAESTUS. This substitution of *oe* for *ae,* which was a very common confusion in later manuscripts, is made elsewhere by Gouvea, e. g. Epist. 2.51 foemina; 4.10 foemineus; 4.75 moeret; Genethliacum 33 (Vaassen, 708) pia foemina.

16 LIQUIT: the simple verb is much less frequent than its compound *relinquere.* Gouvea really left not merely his native town but his native land, while Catherine quit only her native region in France. According to lines 33–6 below, she was from Avignon. *Solum . . . liquit* in her case

Beia mihi patria est, fuerat Pax Iulia priscis;
    Iulius hoc dederat nomen habere loco.
Tres vidi fratres, tres me videre sorores;
    sorsque tui partus ultima, mater, ego.
Gallia tres studiis florens ignobilis oti
    ceperat, accessi quartus et ipse tribus.
Annos detinuit populosa Lutetia septem,
    crescentem studiis erudiitque bonis.
Me tamen a primis bello sacraverat annis,

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therefore refers to her leaving Avignon to go to Lyons. The reason for the specific sorrow connected with their respective departures is a matter of mere conjecture. Perhaps Gouvea, who was the only one of the boys still at home, deeply regretted leaving his mother, father, sisters, and grandfather. The ambitions of the last for his grandson are described in line 26 below.

17 Beia: cf. Introd. 16.

17 patria: here this word means, of course, 'native city', as often. Cf. Cic. Inv. 1.24.35 patria, Atheniensis an Lacedaemonius.

17 Pax: this recalls the use of the word in the familiar phrase *Pax Romana*. Cf. Plin. Nat. Hist. 27.1.3 immensa Romanae pacis maiestate; Tac. Ann. 12.33 pacem nostram. The town Pax Julia probably received its name when Julius Caesar was proconsul in Spain. It was possibly the scene of one of his skirmishes, for he attacked and sacked some towns of the Lusitanians. Cf. Suet. Iul. 54 Lusitanorum quaedam oppida . . . diripuit hostiliter.

19 This is a remarkable way for Gouvea to state that he had three brothers and three sisters. It is conceivable that he may be conveying the fact that while his sisters all saw him, they happened to die in his babyhood when he was too young to retain any visual recollection of them (cf. Introd. 16, note 35).

19 Tres . . . fratres: i. e. Marçal, Andrea, and Diego (cf. Introd. 17-8).

20 sors: This word elsewhere means 'child', e. g. Ov. Fast. 6.30 Saturni sors ego prima fui.

20 mater: i. e. Inez de Gouvea (cf. Introd. 15).

21-2 Gallia . . . / ceperat: the three older brothers had gone to Paris to study under their uncle, Diego de Gouvea, at an earlier date than Antonio. He himself went there at the expense of the royal treasury of Portugal (cf. Introd. 19).

21 florens: this adjective may be used with or without the preposition *in*. For our passage we may compare Cic. Brut. 7.28 cum floreret omni genere virtutis.

countries. My native place is Beia. It had been the Pax Julia of the ancients; for Julius had given the place this name to bear.

Three brothers I saw; three sisters saw me; and I was the last child of your bearing, mother. France, flourishing in the pursuits of inglorious ease, had received three of us, and I myself came as a fourth to the other three. The great city of Paris detained me for seven years, and as I grew into manhood gave me a good education in excellent studies.

From my earliest youth, however, my grandfather had dedicated

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21 STUDIIS . . . IGNOBILIS OTI: Vergil writes this phrase in Georg. 4.563-4 me . . . alebat / Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti. The best translation of *oti* seems to be 'ease', referring to the luxury which Francis I introduced into the court, even though he was at war with Charles V at the time.

23 ANNOS . . . SEPTEM: during this period Antonio de Gouvea perfected himself in the studies of literature and philosophy. At the end of this time he received his degree at the Sorbonne (cf. Introd. 20).

23 POPULOSA: this is a post-classical adjective which does not seem to exist in earlier Latin. Cf. Apul. Flor. 6. p. 19 gens populosa; Met. 5.8 populosam familiam; Veg. Mil. 3.19 populosior . . . globus; Sol. 52.11 insula est populosissima.

23 LUTETIA: i. e. Lutetia Parisiorum in Gallia Lugdunensis. This name of Paris was used as early as the first century B. C., e. g. Caes. B. G. 7.57, 58 Lutetiam proficiscitur. Id est oppidum Parisiorum, quod positum est in insula fluminis Sequanae; Id est oppidum Senonum in insula Sequanae positum, ut paulo ante de Lutetia diximus; Amm. 15.11.3 Parisiorum castellum, Lutetiam nomine. Ammianus uses the word *Parisii* also of the town, e. g. 18.6.16. Medieval writers frequently use this form as well as the indeclinable form *Parisius*. For the adoption of this name, see Robert Goulet, Compendium Universitatis Parisiensis, 33 (translated by Dr. Robert B. Burke) where the possible origin is said to be *par Iseos*. Iseos was the name of a stronghold, later called Miledunum, and the significance of the *par* is the fact that Paris was situated on the Seine as was the former place.

24 The accusative *me* is implied in *crescentem,* and could hardly be omitted in classical Latin poetry.

24 STUDIIS . . . BONIS: the reader may wonder whether *bona studia* may not have some technical meaning here, as we speak of the liberal arts (*artes liberales*), and so imply specific studies. But the phrase in all probability simply means 'useful' or 'worthwhile studies', i. e. the conventional studies of the liberal arts course.

ut successorem laudis haberet, avus.
At Mars alter erat, bella altera, et altera castra,
altera militiae cura futura meae.
Hinc me Burdigalae falcatum littus in arcum
accipit; huc frater venerat ante meus.
Hic rursum musas studio complectimur omni;
hic primum canibus Delia visa meis.
Hinc me post varias fatalis Avinio terras

26 LAUDIS: the genitive with the noun *successor* is likewise found in classical Latin, e. g. Ov. Fast. 5.77-8 propositi . . . successor honoris / Iunius; Met. 3.589 studii successor et heres.

26 AVUS: i. e. Antonio de Gouvea, a man of unusual valor and merit, who did not wish to see the military renown of his house come to an end with himself (cf. Introd. 14-5). Since young Antonio showed great promise as a youth, and very probably because he was the elder Antonio's namesake, the latter had hoped that the lad would live up to the standard which he had set and win even more fame for the family.

27 Comparisons of lovemaking with soldiering are, of course, familiar from earlier poets. Cf. Tib. 1.3.82 optavit lentas et mihi militias; 2.3.33-4 . . . cui tristi fronte Cupido / imperitat, nostra sint tua castra domo; Prop. 1.6.30 hanc me militiam fata subire volunt; 4 (=5).1.135 haec tua castra; Ov. Ars 1.35-6 Principio, quod amare velis, reperire labora, / qui nova nunc primum miles in arma venis!; 2.233 Militiae species amor est; 2.235-6 saevique dolores / mollibus his castris; Am. 1.9.1 militat omnis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido; 1.9.43-4 impulit ignavum formosae cura puellae / iussit et in castris aera merere suis; 2.9.3-4 quid me, qui miles numquam tua signa reliqui, / laedis, et in castris vulneror ipse meis?; 2.18.40 et a vestris in mea castra venis; Epist. 7.32 frater Amor, castris militet ille tuis!

28 In my translation I keep *meae* with *militiae*, but the actual thought of Gouvea certainly is no more than this: 'I was going to be interested in a different sort of campaigning.'

29 HINC: i. e. after finishing his studies in Paris, Antonio de Gouvea went to Bordeaux in 1534 (cf. Introd. 21).

29 BURDIGALAE: the chief city of the Bituriges Vivisci in Aquitania, today called Bordeaux. Although among later writers the orthography varies from *Bordig-*, *Burdeg-*, and *Bordeg-*, to *Bordicalon*, *Burdigala* is the form which appears as early as Mart. 9.32.6 crassae . . . Burdigalae. See also Itin. Burdig. p. 549.7 civitas Burdigala, ubi est fluvius Garonna; Auson. 298.8 Burdigala est natale solum; 298.39 diligo Burdigalam; Paul. Nol. Epist. 3.4.

29 FALCATUM IN ARCUM: the adjective *falcatus* literally means 'provided with scythes'. Cf. Liv. 37.41.5 Falcatae quoque quadrigae . . . in suos terrorem verterunt. For its transferred meaning of 'sickle-shaped' or 'curved', see Ov. Met. 1.717 falcato nutantem vulnerat ense. For this meaning of

me to war, in order to have a successor in glory. But my Mars was a different Mars, my wars different, different too my camp, and the interest which I was to have in my campaigning was different.

From here the shore of Bordeaux received me in its curving bay; there my brother had previously come. In Bordeaux I embraced the muses again with full enthusiasm. It was here that Diana was first sighted by my dogs.

Next, after traversing various lands, fateful Avignon, a land

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-atus, cf. *cocleatus* 'having the shape of a snail-shell'. It is interesting to note that ancient Drepanum (modern Trapani) received its name from the Greek word *δρέπανον* 'sickle', on account of the shape of the low spit of land on which it stands. The application of the whole phrase to Bordeaux is very appropriate. As can easily be seen from a map of that city (Baedeker, Southern France, 5th ed., 1907, 42, or Zinzerling, Itinerarium Galliae, 84), the Garonne river describes almost a perfect arc as it flows through the city. The curve is quite similar to that of a sickle. This figure is common in poetry, especially in Ovid. e. g. Verg. Aen. 3.533 Portus ab Euroo fluctu curvatus in arcum; Ov. Epist. 2.131 Est sinus adductos modice falcatus in arcus; Met. 11.229 Est sinus Haemoniae curvos falcatus in arcus; 14.51 curvos sinuatus in arcus.

29 LITTUS: this is a common late orthography for *litus*. Cf. Italian *littore*.

30 FRATER . . . MEUS: i. e. Andrea de Gouvea (cf. Introd. 18).

32 Gouvea may have been fond of hunting, for he mentions that sport again in Epigr. 74.3-4, 6 Implorabam . . . / venatricis numina casta deae . . . / non canibus toties Delia visa meis.

33 HINC: this apparently means that Gouvea went to Avignon after his stay at Bordeaux. Actually he did not go directly, for he stopped at Toulouse (cf. Introd. 22). In fact, in this very letter Gouvea mentions Toulouse in lines 51–2 Istud erat, cur Burdigalam, claramque Tholosam / neglexi.

33 HINC: as in line 29. This recurrence at the beginning of closely successive lines, in an account of travels may be illustrated by Hor. Sat. 1.5.47, 50 Hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt . . . Hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa. The mention of several successive towns in a journey resembles Auson. Mos. 1-11.

33 AVINIO: modern Avignon on the Rhone belonged anciently to Gallia Narbonensis. The spellings *Avenio* and *Avinio* were common. Cf. Greg. Tur. Franc. 6.26 Avenione regressus est; Cassiod. Var. 3.38.2 in Avinione. This city of southeastern France, the capital of the department of Vaucluse, lies 143 miles south of Lyons by railway between that city and Marseilles.

accepit, fatis debita terra meis.
Nobilis illa viris, et muro nobilis alto,
formae nobilior nobilitate tuae.
Cuius ut ad nostras rumor sese attulit aures,
tentari sensi pectora nostra rogis.
Heu quantum terrae, quantum maris aequor aravi,
cassibus ut caperer hospita praeda tuis!
Hic nomen, Catharina, tuum patriamque rogavi,
quis pater, et proavi, quod genus omne tuum.

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34 FATIS: see line 15 above.

35 MURO . . . ALTO: Avignon is still surrounded by the walls built in the fourteenth century, when the popes were resident there. These ramparts, which offer one of the finest examples of medieval fortification in existence, are of great strength and massive construction. Surmounted by machicolated battlements, they are flanked at intervals by thirty-nine huge towers and pierced by several gateways, three of which date from the fourteenth century itself. Cf. Encyc. Brit. (11th ed.) 3.63.II s. v. Avignon.

37 CUIUS: i. e. formae . . . nobilitate tuae.

37 AD NOSTRAS . . . SESE ATTULIT AURES: this reflexive is equivalent to a passive, as, e. g. Cic. Rep. 3.3 quorum animi altius se extulerunt; Lucr. 6.672 se tetulerunt semina aquarum. The passive voice, however, is used more commonly, e. g. Cic. Epist. 2.14 nihil ad nos novi adferebatur; Apul. Met. 5.3; 9.16. Other compounds as well as the simple verb *fero* are also found, e. g. Verg. Aen. 3.40 vox reddita fertur ad aures; Sen. Epist. 94.53 vox . . . perfertur; Tac. Ann. 4.39 ad principum aures conferret.

37 RUMOR: contrary to the ordinary usage this word here refers to a favorable report—that of a woman's beauty.

38 TENTARI: although I cannot find an occurrence of this verb with *rogis* in classical Latin, there are several interesting uses with words denoting some destructive agency, e. g. disease and poison. Cf. Caes. B. C. 3.2 gravis autumnus . . . omnem exercitum valetudine temptaverat; Cic. Tusc. 4.14.31 animi valentes morbo temptari non possunt, corpora possunt; Verg. Georg. 3.441 turpis ovis temptat scabies.

38 ROGIS: this noun is frequently found as a poetic plural, e. g. Verg. Aen. 4.646 conscendit furibunda rogos. Gouvea is perhaps using *rogis* instead of *flammis* in order to suggest in subtle fashion the deadly nature of the passion which Catherine was going to inspire in him. In other words, he conveys the idea that the blow was a mortal one. Compare in this connection Epigr. 1.12.4 sensi etenim subitis corda cremata rogis.

39 AEQUOR: this noun is used in classical Latin of both land (cf. Cic. Div. 1.42 in camporum patentium aequoribus; Verg. Aen. 7.781 aequore

due to me by fate, received me. That city, famed for men, and famed for its lofty wall, is still more famous through the fame of your beauty. When the report of it reached my ears, I felt that my heart was being assailed by the flames of a funeral pyre. Alas, how great a stretch of land did I traverse, how great an expanse of sea did I plough, to be taken prey as a foreigner by your snares! Here, Catherine, I asked your name and your native city, who your father was, who your ancestors were, as well as the origin of your whole family. Candid simplicity had given

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campi) and sea (cf. Aen. 2.780 maris aequor; 3.495). Although I can find no example of *aequor terrae* in the singular, the plural occurs in Avien. Orb. Terr. 1239 aequora terrarum gravibus componere rastris. Usually the word refers specifically to the even surface of the sea in its quiet state, or, as Varro says, Ling. 7.23 'aequor mare appellatum, quod aequatum, cum commotum vento non est'.

39 ARAVI: the figurative meaning of this verb is first applied to sea travel, then, as here, to land travel. The literal meaning should perhaps be avoided by using some such word as 'traverse'. Parallel passages in classical authors are numerous, e. g. Verg. Aen. 3.495 nullum maris aequor arandum; the same metaphor appears in the combination of *sulcare* and *findere* with *aequor,* e. g. Ov. Met. 4.707 sulcat aquas; Trist. 1.4.3 findimus aequor.

40 CASSIBUS: this noun is often applied to the snares and the pitfalls of love, e. g. Tib. 1.6.5 nam mihi tenduntur casses; Ov. Ars 3.554 novus viso casse resistet amans.

40 HOSPITA: whereas this word sometimes occurs as a feminine substantive corresponding to *hospes,* it must here be the adjective modifying *praeda.* The form is related to *hospes* as *antistita* is to *antistes, sospita* to *sospes, sacerdota* to *sacerdos.* The meaning of *hospes* <* *hosti-potis* is 'one who has power over a stranger' = 'host, guest', since each is a stranger to the other, and each has more or less power over the other if he chooses to be violent. Its transferred meaning is sometimes 'stranger' or 'foreigner'. The adjectival form *hospita* in the feminine singular is mostly poetical. Cf. Verg. Aen. 3.377; Ov. Fast. 1.340; Lucan. 3.43 hospita tellus; Val. Fl. 2.649; Stat. Theb. 4.842.

42 PROAVI: the word *proavus* means specifically 'great-grandfather', but here it is probably used generically, as often. Cf. Ov. Am. 3.15.5 usque a proavis vetus ordinis heres; Stat. Theb. 10.807; Iuv. 3.312; Epigr. 1.36.7 ab avis proavisque.

42 GENUS OMNE TUUM: Catherine had come of a noble family containing many distinguished knights (cf. Introd. 33).

Nobile simplicitas dederat tibi candida nomen;
et pater a proavis regibus ortus erat.
Visendi incessit misero male providus ardor,
scilicet, ut visu laederer ipse meo.
Ut video, ut pereo! Subitoque accensa favilla
ingeminat vires, multiplicatque suas.
Istud erat, cur te, famosa Lutetia, liqui,
Aonios demens deseruique lacus.
Istud erat, cur Burdigalam, claramque Tholosam

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44 SIMPLICITAS: the reference here is to fine character, i. e. 'your frank simplicity had given you a splendid reputation'. Gouvea celebrates Catherine's virtues and other remarkable merits in his epigrams, e. g. Epigr. 1.56 Te quaeso primam specie virtutis in omni / quis dicat, cum sit nulla secunda tibi?; 2.28.1-3 Vincis me ingenio, lepore, forma, / vincis nobilitate, vincis omni / virtutum genere omnium optimarum. Catherine's character seems to be in keeping with her name which is derived from the Greek καθαρός meaning 'spotless'.

44 REGIBUS: this may be exaggerated, because there seems to be no trace of actual kings in Catherine's ancestral line. The word *rex* is very possibly used in this place to mean 'a powerful lord'. Even in classical Latin it had the general meaning of 'head', 'chief', or 'leader', e. g. Hor. Epist. 1.7.37 Saepe verecundum laudasti, 'rexque paterque'. At least Catherine came of noble lineage, since Gouvea himself frequently refers to her nobility in his epigrams as well as elsewhere in his letters. Cf. Epist. 3.11 Haec tua nobilitas; 3.13-4 neque cana fuisset / nobilitas; Epigr. 1.36.7 quae est nobilitas ab avis proavisque relicta; 2.28.2 vincis nobilitate.

45 MALE PROVIDUS: i. e. *improvidus*. This is an example of litotes with *male*, as, e. g. Verg. Aen. 4.8 male sana. When attached to a word of favorable meaning, *male* is negative. When attached to a bad word, it means 'extremely'.

47 UT VIDEO, UT PEREO: this same phraseology with the exception of the perfect instead of the present tense occurs in Verg. Ecl. 8.41 ut vidi, ut perii! See also Medea's words about Jason, Ov. Epist. 12.33 Et vidi et perii! Editors often consider both *ut*'s of the Vergil passage as exclamatory, in imitation of Theocr. 2.22, but I have made my translation in accordance with Fairclough's interpretation in the Loeb Series. Cf. also Conington's note to Ecl. 8.42 where he says that the second ὡς of the Theocritus passage should probably be ὥς in which case Vergil's *ut* would be a mistranslation.

47 ACCENSA FAVILLA: here this means 'glowing ember' (coal) suddenly taking fire anew and becoming enkindled. This seems to be an unusual combination, for we might more naturally expect something like the *faces accensas* of Cic. Pis. 2.5. For adjectives more frequently used with this noun,

you a noble name; and your father had come of royal ancestors. A rash desire to see you assailed my wretched heart, doubtless in order that I myself might suffer injury from my sight of you. As I gaze, how I perish! For the ember suddenly enkindled doubles and multiplies its strength. That was why I left you, famous Paris, and in my mad love deserted the Aonian lakes. That was why I neglected Bordeaux and famous Toulouse and

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see Verg. Aen. 3.573 candente favilla; Ov. Met. 8.525 cana . . . favilla.

48 INGEMINAT VIRES: cf. Verg. Aen. 3.199 ingeminant . . . ignes. For the occurrence of the simple verb *gemino* and *multiplico* in a single line, see Stat. Theb. 6.790-1 geminatque rotatas / multiplicatque manus.

49 ISTUD ERAT: as at the beginning of line 51. For the anaphora, see *hinc* . . . *hinc* introducing lines 29 and 33 above.

49 From the following lines it seems probable either that Gouvea had heard about Catherine from someone, or that he had become aware of her existence in some other way before meeting her. Because of his Gallic background, however, it may easily be considered an *ex post facto* compliment to a lady.

49 LUTETIA: cf. note to line 23 above.

49 LIQUI: cf. note to line 16 above.

50 AONIOS: this adjective is ordinarily applied to the mountains or springs in Boeotia, which were the haunts of the Muses. *Lacus* may here be used to mean 'pool', as, e. g. Iuv. 6.602-3 transeo . . . vota . . . / ad spurcos decerpta lacus. Ovid uses the adjective *Aonius* frequently, e. g. Ov. Am. 1.1.12 Aoniam Marte movente lyram; Fast. 4.245 Talibus Aoniae facunda voce Camenae; Trist. 4.10.39.

50 DESERUI LACUS: Gouvea indicates that he gave up his poetical endeavors and ceased to write.

51 BURDIGALAM: cf. note to line 29 above.

51 THOLOSAM: Toulouse, the capital of the department Haute Garonne, is 443 miles southwest of Paris by railroad and 159 miles southeast of Bordeaux, on the right bank of the Garonne. It has become a commercial and industrial center, although it was not very important as the chief town of the Volcae Tectosages, in the early centuries of Rome's rule. Its significance must have increased greatly about the middle of the fourth century. Cf. Auson. Ordo Urbium Nobilium 18.1-9 Non umquam altricem nostri reticebo Tolosam, / coctilibus muris quam circuit ambitus ingens / perque latus pulchro praelabitur amne Garumna, / innumeris cultam populis, confinia propter / ninguida Pyrenes et pinea Cebennarum, / inter Aquitanas gentes et nomen Hiberum. / Quae modo quadruplices ex se cum effuderit urbes, / non ulla exhaustae sentit dispendia plebis, / quos genuit cunctos gremio conplexa colono.

neglexi, terras appetiique novas.
At vidisse fuit, quoniam sic fata, necesse;
nec visa potui non periisse dea.
Sensistique ignes, si vis modo vera fateri,
materiamque tibi saepe dedere ioci.
O medio haerebat quoties mihi lingua palato,
et mihi pro lingua lucidus ignis erat!
Pro lingua, gemitus, lacrymae, suspiria crebra!
Quid facias? Saevus verba coercet amor.
Quin etiam cupiens omni tibi parte placere,
ingenii coepi prodere signa mei.
Doctorum tenui totis sex mensibus aures;
nec fuit ingenio fama sinistra meo.
Quod si quem nostri forsan iuvere labores,
gratia sit meritis tota ferenda tuis.
Quid verbis opus est? Satis imprudenter amavi.

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53 VIDISSE: a Roman might have felt that *vidisse* here was something more than a mere equivalent of a present infinitive: 'It was Fate's decree that I should have made your acquaintance at some time or other, sooner or later.'

55-6 Gouvea indicates that Catherine felt a deep love and affection for him, although she did not reveal it in a serious mood, perhaps because of her womanly modesty and reserve. Upon occasion, however, she would jokingly speak of it, illustrating thereby the adage, 'There is many a true word said in jest'.

56 MATERIAM: although this word is primarily used concretely to mean 'stuff' or 'material', it may also mean 'chance' or 'opportunity', e. g. Liv. 3.46.2-3 Lictores . . . circumsteterant; . . . cum Appius . . . inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem locum seditionis quaerere diceret. Non praebiturum se illi eo die materiam.

57 HAEREBAT . . . LINGUA: this seems like another reminiscence of Ovid, for Phaedra in her letter to Hippolytus writes: ter inutilis haesit / lingua, Epist. 4.7-8. Cf. also Verg. Aen. 2.774 Obstipui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.

59 GEMITUS, LACRYMAE, SUSPIRIA CREBRA: in classical Latin, *creber* is found with all three of these words, e. g. Liv. 30.15.3 crebro suspiritu et gemitu; Tac. Ann. 6.46 crebris cum lacrimis; Colum. 6.14.2 crebrum . . . suspirium facit.

sought new lands. But it was necessary to see you, since the Fates so decreed; and I could not end my days without having seen my goddess. You also felt the fires, if you are only willing to confess the truth, and jesting has often given you this opportunity.

Oh, how often did my tongue cleave to my palate, and how often did the bright fire in my eyes serve for language! How often did repeated groans, tears, and sighs act for the tongue! What would you do? Cruel love checks speech.

Furthermore, in my desire to please you in every way, I began to betray signs of my genius. For six whole months I held the attention of scholars, and it was no unfavorable reputation that I gained for my talent. But if my efforts have chanced to help anyone, all the credit ought to be ascribed to your merits. What need of words? I have loved rashly enough. You know how

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62 INGENII . . . SIGNA MEI: Gouvea here has reference to his lectures on law as well as to his literary endeavors. The inspiration of Catherine is, of course, directly responsible for these letters and a large number of the epigrams (cf. Introd. 35-9). She must also have been a great incentive to him in his career as a jurisconsult, as we learn from his direct statement in line 66 below.

63 TENUI . . . AURES: this same idiom occurs in Cic. Ac. 2.7.20 ut oculi pictura teneantur, aures cantibus.

63 SEX MENSIBUS: cf. Introd. 22.

64 NEC . . . SINISTRA: litotes, as elsewhere in our author, as e. g. *male providus*, line 45 above; *non facile*, line 68 below.

64 SINISTRA: this word starts its figurative meaning with an augural sense. In taking the auspices, whereas the Romans faced south, the Greeks faced north, so that anything appearing in the east, i. e. in the lucky direction, was on their right. Consequently anything on the left was 'unlucky' or 'ill-omened'. Then *sinister* came to have the more general meaning of 'bad' or 'unfavorable', e. g. Ov. Epist. 13.49 Di, precor, a nobis omen removete sinistrum.

66 GRATIA . . . FERENDA: with *gratia* in the sense of 'thanks' or 'credit' (as here), classical Latin seems to prefer *referre* to the simple verb, for I can find no example of the latter, while *referre* is, of course, easily exemplified, e. g. Liv. 37.37.8 referre aliam gratiam nunc non posse. The verb *habere* could have been used here instead of *ferre*.

67 See line 45 above.

Scis quam non facile dissimuletur amor.
Id, ne quaeso, nega; cupias fortasse negare.
Hei mihi, quam, posses iure negare, velim.
Ac vellem, ut cuperes id tu, Catharina, negare,
sic mentiretur littera nostra tibi.
Quid iam sperassem fatis accedere nostris?
En alius rerum nascitur ordo mihi.
Quo, superi, quo me tandem, quo mittitis? Ibo
longius hinc sine te, te, Catharina, sine?
Istud erat, cur iactatum terraque marique,
his demum placuit constituisse locis?
Heu quid ego admisi? Quae non ego numina demens,
quos ego non colui demeruique deos?

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68 FACILE: note that the *e* of this word must be scanned as long. This forced lengthening of short syllables occurs occasionally throughout the letters. In the third letter especially, it is rather common before the caesura, like the short syllable at the caesura in some plays of Plautus. This usage resembles that of the final syllable of a verse, i. e. the *syllaba anceps,* which may be either long or short.

69 i. e. is not difficult to conceal.

69 NE . . . NEGA: the prohibition expressed by the present imperative with the negative *ne* seems to be only poetical or colloquial (cf. Lane, 1581; Gildersleeve and Lodge, 270). Cf. Verg. Aen. 6.95 Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito; 6.544 ne saevi; Ov. Met. 2.101 Ne dubita.

69 QUAESO: for the short final *o* of this word, see note on *nescio,* line 4 above.

70 HEI MIHI: this is used in elegiac poetry as an exclamation of woe by lovers, e. g. Ov. Am. 2.3.1 Ei mihi; 2.5.4; 2.18.20; 2.19.34.

72 LITTERA: for the singular form having the meaning 'epistle', see note to line 2 above.

74 ORDO: for the short final *o* of this word, see note on *nescio,* line 4 above.

74 This line expresses an idea similar to Verg. Ecl. 4.5 magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo. See also Tennyson, Idylls of the King, The Passing of Arthur (line 408) 'The old order changeth, yielding place to new'.

76 Gouvea did not stay for a long time at Avignon, for soon he went to Lyons (cf. Introd. 23).

76 SINE: is sometimes post-positive even in classical Latin poetry, e. g. Hor. Sat. 1.3.68 vitiis nemo sine nascitur; 1.5.99 flamma sine.

difficult love is to conceal. Please don't say that it isn't; you would perhaps like very much to say that it isn't. Alas for me, how I could wish that you could rightly say that it isn't. And I should wish that you did desire to say that it isn't difficult, for in that case, Catherine, my letter would be lying to you.

What could I already have expected to be added to our destinies? Lo, a new order of things is arising for me. Where, powers above, where, pray, are you sending me? Shall I go still farther from here without you, Catherine, without you? Was not that the reason why I, after being buffeted about on land and sea, was resolved at last to settle in these lands? Oh, what have I done? What deities and what gods have I in my madness failed to worship and propitiate?

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77 ISTUD ERAT: a repetition of the initial words of lines 49 and 51 above.

77 IACTATUM: this resembles Vergil's description of Aeneas, Aen. 1.3 ille et terris iactatus et alto.

79-80 This sentiment is common, of course, to both pagan and Christian thought, e. g. in elegy we have some notable examples. Thus Tibullus queries whether he may not have offended the gods to deserve the misfortunes which have befallen him, 1.2.79-82 Num Veneris magnae violavi numina verbo, / et mea nunc poenas impia lingua luit? / Num feror incestus sedes adiisse deorum / sertaque de sanctis deripuisse focis? Cf. also 1.3.51-2 timidum non me periuria terrent, / non dicta in sanctos impia verba deos; 3.4.13, 15-6 efficiat . . . Lucina tremores / . . . si mea nec turpi mens est obnoxia facto / nec laesit magnos impia lingua deos. Although Gouvea is of the Christian era, he talks like the pagans. There were some of his contemporaries who accused him of heresy (cf. Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique et Critique, 2.580.I). In addition several members of his family were suspected of Judaism (cf. Gaullieur, Histoire du Collége du Guyenne, 122). Another thoroughly pagan thought occurs in line 86 below. His desire to imitate the pagan poets makes him appear so much more pagan.

79 ADMISI: *admittere* = *committere*. This verb is generally used of committing some offence or sin. Cf. Plaut. Mil. 4.7.4 quom multos multa admisse acceperim; Ter. Heaut. 5.2.3 quid ego tantum sceleris admisi miser?; Cic. Mil. 23 si Milo admisisset aliquid.

80 DEMERUI: in classical Latin also this word is used in connection with the gods and persons, e. g. Ov. Epist. 2.28 Crimine te potui demeruisse meo; Suet. Aug. 8 avunculum . . . demeruit; Sen. Benef. 2.25.1 Augustum demeruit; Epiced. Drusi 132 quos ego non potui demeruisse deos; Lact. Ira 16.2 iustis . . . operibus demereri eum (deum) laborantes.

O possem sensus utinam tibi scribere nostros!
Sentires, verus quam meus esset amor.
Sentires, lacrymasque dares, miserata dolorem;
ad lacrymas quamvis nil mala nostra tuas.
Forte erit ut dicas: "Me si Goveanus amasset,
movisset precibus fata, Iovemque suis.
Altera non esset tellus quaerenda per orbem,
non alter rursum solicitandus amor."
Crede mihi, nondum visam Goveanus amavit,
certavitque sua fata movere prece.
Altera terra tamen misero quaeranda per orbem,
non alter fuerit solicitandus amor.
Quas me cunque ferent superi, referentque sub oras,
quae misero cunque gens adeunda mihi,
ut tuus ipse fui, cum non mihi visa fuisses,
sic ero, quod superest, tempus in omne tuus.
Sive, quid avertant superi, mihi vita supersit,
sive peregrinus contegat ossa lapis.

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82 ESSET: Gouvea is following good classic usage here in employing secondary sequence after an imperfect subjunctive of action non-occurrent in present time, although the present subjunctive would be possible (cf. Lane, 1763).

84 AD LACRYMAS: in this connection *ad* means 'compared with'. For examples of this meaning in classical Latin, see Plaut. Capt. 2.2.25 ad sapientiam huius ille (Thales) nimius nugator fuit; Cic. Tusc. 1.17.40 persuadent enim mathematici terram in medio mundo sitam ad universi caeli complexum quasi puncti instar obtinere.

86 MOVISSET . . . FATA: *movere* with *fata* occurs a number of times in classical literature, e. g. Liv. 25.16.4 nulla tamen providentia fatum imminens moveri potuit; Ov. Met. 15.807-8 sola insuperabile fatum, / nata, movere paras; Lucan. 6.605 si fata minora moveres; Val. Fl. 5.21; 5.87, 156. *Flectere* is likewise common with *fata*, e. g. Cic. Cat. 3.8.19 nisi dii immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent; Verg. Aen. 6.376 desine fata deum flecti sperare precando; Val. Fl. 3.250.

88 AMOR: this word can mean here 'love' or the 'person loved', i. e. a sweetheart. Another similar instance in Gouvea occurs in Epist. 2.13. For parallels in classical poets, see Ov. Met. 1.452 Primus amor Phoebi Daphne; 4.137 sed postquam remorata suos cognovit amores.

88 SOLICITANDUS: cf. line 92 below for the same orthography. The normal classical spelling is, of course, *ll*.

Would that I could describe my feelings to you! You would perceive how true my love is. You would perceive, and you would shed tears in pity of my pain, although my misfortunes are nothing in comparison with your tears. Perhaps you may say, "If Gouvea had loved me, he would have moved the Fates and Jupiter by his prayers. He would not have to wander through the world in search of another land; he would not have to court again a second love."

Believe me, Gouvea loved you before he had even seen you, and he has struggled to prevail upon the Fates by his prayer. But he, in his wretchedness, will have to wander through the world to seek another land, although he is not bound to court another love. It matters not to what shores those on high will bring me or bring me back, or what people I must visit in my unhappiness. Just as I myself was yours, when I had not seen you, so will I be yours for all time to come, whether life remain to me (God forbid!) or a foreign stone cover my bones.

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89 For the love which the mere report of Catherine's splendid reputation had aroused in Gouvea, see lines 43–6 above.

91-2 These two lines are very similar to ones in Ovid's letter of Dido to Aeneas, Epist. 7.13-4 quaerenda per orbem / altera, quaesita est altera terra tibi.

91 This line and the next almost repeat 87 and 88 above.

91 TERRA: here our author uses *terra* instead of the almost exclusively poetical term *tellus* which occurs in 87. Cf. Tib. 4.1.161; Ov. Met. 1.15 utque erat et tellus illic et pontus et aer.

92 The meaning of this line may be either 'because, Catherine, you are so devoted to him, i. e. Gouvea has your love'; or 'this is the last time I will have anything to do with women'.

93 QUAS . . . CUNQUE: for the long ultima, see note on *facile,* line 68 above. Gouvea furnishes another example of tmesis in this word in Lectionum Variarum Iuris Civilis Liber I, Praef. (Vaassen, 168) quae in civili disciplina obscuritas cunque est. Horace furnishes several good examples of tmesis in some form of *quicumque,* e. g. Carm. 1.7.25 quo nos cumque feret melior fortuna parente; 1.27.14 Quae te cumque domat Venus. The orthography *-cunque* is frequently found for *-cumque.*

97 VITA SUPERSIT: cf. Verg. Georg. 3.10 modo vita supersit.

98 CONTEGAT: this verb is often used of burial, e. g. Ov. Epist. 16(=17). 276 aut hic Taenaria contegar exul humo!

Epistola Secunda

Catharina Goveano

Quando erit, ut lacrymis possis mollescere nostris?
    Quando erit, ut victas des, Goveane, manus?
Lusisti, quae te nunquam decepit amantem.
    Res est plena levis credulitatis amor.
Me mea simplicitas — culpae non plectimur ergo.
    An non illa tuo digna favore magis?
Dixisti quoties, ego te, Catharina, relinquam?

Tit. Secunda: of this series of four letters, the second one, written to Gouvea by Catherine, is somewhat similar to the Heroides in thought and in language. Ovid's heroines, in their letters addressed to lovers who have deserted them, lament their unhappy fate. In like style Catherine deplores her sorrowful lot.

1 Quando erit ut: in similar fashion Dido questions Aeneas, Ov. Epist. 7.19 Quando erit, ut condas instar Carthaginis urbem? The same phrasing also occurs in Laodamia's letter to Protesilaus, ibid. 13.117-8 Quando erit ut . . . / militiae referas splendida facta tuae?

1 lacrymis: for this orthography, see note to Epist. 1.9.

2 victas des . . . manus: perhaps a conscious echo of Ov. Epist. 4.14, where Phaedra in her letter to Hippolytus tells of Love's imperious command: 'Scribe, dabit victas ferreus ille manus!'

4 amor: the context indicates the rendering 'easy credulity', meaning that a woman in love is prone to put faith in her lover, for she will believe almost anything and is consequently susceptible to being toyed with. Ovid expresses the same idea in Epist. 6.21 Credula res amor est.

5 This is an extraordinary sentence in which syntactically *mea simplicitas* is in apposition with the *nos* implied in *plectimur;* while the verb itself is used in the middle sense because it governs *me* as its direct object. It is a kind of identification of the person with the quality, such as we find in the English expressions, 'Your Majesty the King', and 'His Honor the Judge'. Since *plectimur* is apparently a so-called editorial plural, the poet ventures to use *me* instead of *nos*. Dr. Kent suggests the reading *me mea simplicitas—(plectit;), culpae non plectimur ergo = culpa non plectit.* He discusses a parallel to this syntactical shift in an Avestan passage, Yasna 49.4, in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 48, no. 3, 277–9.

5 culpae . . . ergo: the latter word (see Lindsay, Latin Language, 583) is a preposition or rather a postposition, governing the genitive as do *causa* and *gratia*. According to Ernout-Meillet, (Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine, 295–6) it is formed from the preposition *ē* plus the ablative of a verbal substantive of *rego*: **e rogō* 'departing from the

Second Letter

Catherine to Gouvea

When will the time come that you can be softened by my tears? When will it be that you will yield your hand in defeat, Gouvea? You have toyed with a sweetheart who never deceived you, her lover. Love is an emotion full of easy credulity. I in my innocence do not blame myself on account of my fault. Or is not that quality worthy rather of your favor?

How often have you said, "I leave you, Catherine? Sooner

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direction of', in which the short intermedial vowel is absorbed after *r*. *Ergo* with the genitive case is archaic. It is found chiefly in the formulas of official or judicial language, e. g. Cic. Att. 3.23.2 eius legis ergo; Lex ap. Cic. Leg. 2.23 funeris ergo; Lex ap. Cic. Opt. Gen. 7.19 virtutis ergo. It seems to have disappeared from the spoken language, for neither Plautus nor Terence uses it, although they employ *erga*. Several instances, however, occur in epic poetry, e. g. Lucr. 3.78 statuarum et nominis ergo; 5.1246 formidinis ergo; Verg. Aen. 6.670 illius ergo.

6 ILLA: i. e. simplicitas.

6 AN . . . MAGIS: the thought here is 'worthy rather of your approval than of your disapproval'. By her question Catherine indicates that she does not consider her worth impaired.

8 TUUS: this adjective is used because the river mentioned belongs to France, the country of Catherine's birth, whereas Gouvea was born in Portugal (cf. Introd. 16).

8 REFLUAS: cf. Ov. Met. 7.267 refluum mare lavit; Sil. 5.624 Ac super haec reflui pugnarunt montibus amnes.

8 SEQUANA: one of the principal rivers of Gallia Celtica is, of course, the Seine, flowing through Paris. Cf. Caes. B. G. 1.1.2 Gallos . . . a Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit. Mela, 3.2.20 ab eo ad Sequanam Celtae; Epist. 1.23 note on *Lutetia*.

8 This line is an example of adynata (ἀδύνατα). In poetry lovers often declare that something impossible will happen before they will break their promises. There are many examples in classical literature, beginning with Homer (Il. 234-7). Among instances of adynata in Propertius we find parallels for our passage. He swears that the rivers will flow upward and the seasons be reversed before his love shall change: 1.15.29-31 Multa prius vasto labentur flumina ponto, / annus et inversas duxerit ante vices, / quam tua sub nostro mutetur pectore cura. He contends that the earth will bear fruit out of season, the sun shine at night, rivers flow backwards, the sea dry up, before his love will be transferred: 2.15.31-4 Terra prius falso partu deludet arantes / et citius nigros Sol agitabit equos, / fluminaque

Ante tuus refluas Sequana vertet aquas.
At dixisse parum; res est Iove credita teste.
Ultor perfidiae sit precor ille tuae.
Sequana, quo properas? Virides, quo tenditis, undae?
Altera periuro terra petita viro.
Partus et alter amor, nec prisco tangitur igne;
quamque iterum violet, altera pacta fides.
Ima tibi o utinam tellus, scelerate, dehiscat!

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ad caput incipient revocare liquores, / aridus et sicco gurgite piscis erit. Claudian speaks of tortoises flying, vultures growing horns, rivers flowing backwards, the sun rising behind Gades and setting amid the Carmanians of India, the ocean filled with plants, the woods with dolphins, and beings half-man, half-snail: Claud. 18 (in Eutrop. 1). 350–7 'Si talibus, inquit, / creditur et nimiis turgent mendacia monstris, / iam testudo volat, profert iam cornua vultur; / prona petunt retro fluvii iuga; Gadibus ortum / Carmani texere diem; iam frugibus aptum / aequor et adsuetum silvis delphina videbo; / iam cochleis homines iunctos et quidquid inane / nutrit Iudaicis quae pingitur India velis'.

9 Iove . . . teste: Jupiter was not commonly invoked by the Romans in matters of love. For members of the sacred hierarchy that figure as witnesses in the attestations of lovers, see Ov. Epist. 2.37, 39, 41 mihi iurasti / . . . per Venerem . . . / Iunonemque; 16 (=17).124 testa dea (Venus); 19 (=20).211-2 praesente Diana, / . . . numine teste. Just as Mars is called upon as an *ultor* in war, so in love the deities Venus, Juno, and Diana are likely to be implored, although in this particular line in Gouvea the supreme god of all is the one to whom the appeal is made.

10 Ultor: in addition to Mars Ultor other gods were implored to avenge human wrongs, e. g. Ov. Met. 14.750 deus ultor = Anteros (Anterus, considered the brother of Eros, was sometimes represented as the avenger of slighted love, and sometimes as the symbol of reciprocal affections); Tac. Hist. 4.57 Superesse fidas provincias . . . et ultores deos.

13 amor: see note to Epist. 1.88.

13 igne: although the ablative case is usually *igni*, the form *igne* is poetical and post-Augustan. Cf. Ov. Met. 4.195 Ureris igne novo; Mart. 1.21.5 contempto . . . igne; 4.57.6 Baias igne calere suo. For the form *igni*, cf. Caes. B. G. 1.4.1 ut igni cremaretur; Verg. Aen. 4.2 (Dido) caeco carpitur igni. Both in singular and plural the word *ignis* is often used to mean 'the secret fire of love' as it is in Gouvea's letters (see also line 69 below). Cf. Hor. Carm. 1.13.8; 3.7.11; Prop. 1.6.7; Ov. Met. 2.410 et accepti caluere sub ossibus ignes; 4.64; 4.675; 6.492; Trist. 4.10.45.

14 Catherine is convinced of the fact that Gouvea is a born traitor and will never be faithful to any woman.

shall your Seine reverse its flow." But your having said this was not enough; calling Jupiter to witness was what won my belief. May he avenge your perfidy, I pray. Seine, where are you hurrying? Green waves, where are you flowing? This perjured man has sought another land. He has found another love and he is not touched by his old-time flame; and he has made another pledge of faith to violate a second time.

May earth yawn to its very depths for you, you cursed villain!

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14 VIOLET: for the long ultima, see note on *facile,* Epist. 1.68.

15 IMA . . . TELLUS . . . DEHISCAT: cf. Verg. Aen. 4.24 Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat, where Dido wishes the earth to swallow her before she should yield to the voice of love. See also Verg. Georg. 1.479 sistunt amnes terraeque dehiscunt; 3.432 terraeque ardore dehiscunt; Ov. Epist. 6.144 (hiscere nempe tibi terra roganda fuit!), the words of Hypsipyle to Jason. For a similar coupling of this idea in line 15 and the one expressed in the following line, see ibid. 3.63-4 Devorer ante, precor, subito telluris hiatu / aut rutilo missi fulminis igne cremer, the words of Briseïs to Achilles.

15 O UTINAM: the hiatus following the interjection *o* is normal, e. g. Tib. 1.3.2 O utinam; Prop. 1.3.39; 1.8.9.

15 The following eight lines contain various curses uttered against Gouvea by Catherine. The practice of pronouncing such maledictions against an enemy is attested by countless ancient literary and epigraphical examples. The terms are more or less explicit or solemn according to circumstances. These various formulae, either ritual or improvised, had the intention of putting the adversary at the mercy of the gods or of presenting him as an expiatory victim. In this very general sense all such execrations could be termed *devotiones* (cf. Auguste Audollent, Devotio ou Defixio, in Gaston Boissier, Mélanges, Paris, 1903). On the other hand, the name *defixiones* was applied to maledictions usually written on *tabellae,* which were subsequently thrown into tombs, wells, springs, or some kind of water (cf. W. Sherwood Fox, Submerged Tabellae Defixionum, in The American Journal of Philology 33, 301-10). The writer hoped that furthered by the dead in some magical way their curses would have their due effect. Cf. also Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae, Paris, 1904; Richard Wuensch, Antike Fluchtafeln, Bonn, 1912; Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum, Berlin, 1897; Neue Fluchtafeln in the Rheinisches Museum, 55, 62-85, 232-71; Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln, Leipzig, 1898.

In its vindictive character and wrathful tone the language of these lines of Gouvea recalls the *devotiones* and *defixiones.* If Catherine had lived in an earlier age when magic of this sort was in vogue, she might have written these words on a tablet of lead and flung them into a well or

Iuppiter aut missi fulminis igne cremet!
Aut te gurgitibus rapiat te surdior unda,
perfide, nec gemitus audiat illa tuos!
Corporeque incesto pascas genus omne natantum,
ossaque post longo tempore ructet aqua!
Haec hic, haec illic fulva spargantur arena!
Nec sit, qui tumuli curet honore tegi!
Quid precor, infelix? Malim te vivere, malim;
tristior at morte vita sit illa tamen.
Hospes in ignota vivas inglorius urbe;

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stream with the expectation of bringing dire destruction upon her former sweetheart. For similar imprecations of women eager for vengeance, see Dido's dire words, Verg. Aen. 4.615-20 where the famous queen calls down upon Aeneas wars, separation from Ascanius, loss of companions, and even premature death. Ovid in his exceedingly vindictive poem, the Ibis, ransacks mythology for instances of violent deaths, which the poet prays may be the lot of his enemy whose name is not known. We may compare also the curse of Hypsipyle upon Medea, Ov. Epist. 6.153-64, in which she prays that desertion, hatred, and fruitless wanderings may be the fate of the rival who stole Jason from her. Cf. also Sen. Med. 579-94; Rossetti, Sister Helen, and Congreve, The Mourning Bride III (last lines).

16 MISSI: this verb occurs with *fulmen* in Hor. Carm. 1.12.59-60 tu parum castis inimica mittes / fulmina lucis. Its compound *emittere* is found in Cic. Div. 2.19 fulmina emitteret. Elsewhere *iacere* and *moliri* are used in this same sense, e. g. Cic. Div. 2.19 fulmen iecit (Iuppiter); Verg. Georg. 1.328-9 ipse pater . . . / fulmina molitur dextra. Notable is the omission of the object *te*, which, however, is clearly understood from the context.

17 SURDIOR UNDA: because waters yield to no appeal, of course, the quality of deafness was frequently ascribed to them by the Romans, e. g. Ov. Ars 1.531 Thesea crudelem surdas clamabat ad undas; Epist. 8.9 Surdior ille freto; Met. 13.804 surdior aequoribus. The same adjective was frequently applied to other things to indicate deafness to the entreaties of lovers, e. g. Hor. Carm. 3.7.21-2 scopulis surdior Icari / voces audit adhuc integer; Epod. 17.54 non saxa nudis surdiora navitis.

19 GENUS OMNE NATANTUM: i. e. *pisces*, as in Verg. Aen. 3.541 genus omne natantum. This idea seems to be the positive parallel to Ov. Trist. 1.2.56 et non aequoreis piscibus esse cibum.

21 FULVA: this adjective is poetical in contrast to the prose *flavus*. It is frequently found in Vergil and in Ovid, e. g. Verg. Aen. 5.374 fulva . . . harena; 6.643; 12.276; Georg. 3.110; Ov. Met. 2.865 fulvis . . . harenis; 9.36; 10.716; 11.355, 499; Trist. 4.6.31.

Or may Jupiter hurl his thunderbolt and consume you with its fire! Or may the sea, deafer than you, carry you off in its swirling waters, nor give ear to your groans, traitor! And with your vile body may you feed the whole race of swimming creatures, and after a long time may the water spew up your bones! May they be scattered some here, some there on the yellow sand! May there be no one to care for your honorable burial in a tomb!

What am I praying, unhappy girl that I am? I had rather have you live on. I truly should; but yet may that life of yours be sadder than death. May you live ingloriously, an alien in an

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22 The last four lines owe their significance to the belief of the Romans in the great importance of the ceremonial burial of their dead, which they thought the only way of keeping the soul content in the lower world. Accordingly, when they were unable to find the corpse, they would perform funeral rites, and sometimes erect a cenotaph for the spirit. Since the casting of three handfuls of dirt constituted the requisite ceremonial burial, even a stranger who failed to perform this simple duty was certain of paying for his omission. Cf. Hor. Carm. 1.28.31-4 Postmodo te natis fraudem committere? Fors et / debita iura vicesque superbae / te maneant ipsum: precibus non linquar inultis, / teque piacula nulla resolvent. Ovid entertains the same fears of being buried without the honor of a tomb in Trist. 3.3.45 sed sine funeribus caput hoc, sine honore sepulcri / indeploratum barbara terra teget.

23 QUID PRECOR INFELIX: for this phrase, cf. Ov. Epist. 2.103, where it is used by Phyllis after she has prayed for Demophoon to return.

23 After uttering the dire wishes in the preceding lines Catherine no longer hopes that her lover will die a terrible death, but worse yet, that he will live in the midst of great trials and dangers.

24 MORTE: for the long ultima, see note on *facile*, Epist. 1.68.

24 TAMEN: for the unusual position of this conjunction at the end of the line, see Verg. Georg. 1.197-8 Vidi lecta diu et multo spectata labore / degenerare tamen; Aen. 1.476-7 (Troilus) fertur . . . lora tenens tamen.

25 IGNOTA . . . URBE: in like manner Tibullus speaks of Corcyra, where he fell ill on the way to Asia with his friend and patron, Messalla. Cf. Tib. 1.3.3 me tenet ignotis aegrum Phaeacia terris; 1.3.39 ignotis . . . terris.

25 INGLORIUS: for a man of Gouvea's talents and ambitions such a life might well be worse than death. The Romans, too, despised an existence without honor. Cf. Cic. Leg. 1.11.32 beati qui honorati sunt videntur; miseri autem qui sunt inglorii; Tusc. 3.34.81 sunt enim certa, . . . quae de vita inhonorata et ingloria dici soleant.

sit fortuna tamen invidiosa tua.
Deneget aequor iter, tellus ignota favorem;
multa tibi terrae, plura minentur aquae.
Sis miser, illudant misero, calcentque iacentem
si quos officiis demeruisse potes.
Sis miser, et soli mihi sis miserabilis ipse;
commovearque tuis indoleamque malis.
Et quos flagitio non irritaveris ullo,
coniurent omnes in tua damna dei.
Nil ubi non tuleris, levior sit crimine culpa,
pacatumque tibi confiteare Iovem.
Di maris et terrae, di qui Iovis astra tenetis,
imperiuratae quique praeestis aquae,

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27 DENEGET AEQUOR ITER: although Gouvea uses different wording, he may be taking this idea from Ov. Ib. 112 nec tibi det tellus nec tibi pontus iter. It is also interesting to compare Ov. Epist. 6.161 cum mare, cum terras consumpserit, aera temptet.

27 DENEGO: this verb may be used poetically of subjects which are not personal, e. g. Ov. Ib. 107-8 Terra tibi fruges, amnis tibi deneget undas. / Deneget afflatus ventus et aura suos.

29 ILLUDANT MISERO: the verb *illudere* is found both with the dative and with the accusative case. For the former, see Verg. Aen. 2.64 certantque illudere capto; Tac. Ann. 16.1 Inlusit dehinc Neroni fortuna. For the latter, see Ter. Phor. 5.8.22 Satis *pól* superbe illuditis me; Cic. de Orat. 2.58.237 miseros illudi nolunt.

29 CALCENT . . . IACENTEM: this figure pictures the victorious warrior trampling upon his prostrate opponent. Cf. Iuv. 10.86 calcemus Caesaris hostem; Iust. 12.16.11 nullam gentem adiit, quam non calcaverit. For the occurrence of the two words together, see Ov. Ib. 29 At tibi, calcasti qui me, violente iacentem.

30 DEMERUISSE: on this verb, see note to Epist. 1.80. For the use of the perfect infinitive, see note on *vidisse,* Epist. 1.53. It may be noted that this particular form *demeruisse* appears elsewhere in the second half of the pentamenter where the substitution of a spondee for a dactyl is not permitted, e. g. Ov. Ars 2.252 nec tibi sit servos demeruisse pudor; Epist. 2.28 crimine te potui demeruisse meo.

31 SIS MISER, ET . . . MIHI SIS MISERABILIS: apparently this is in direct imitation of Ov. Ib. 117 Sisque miser semper, nec sis miserabilis ulli. For another occurrence of these two adjectives in the same sentence, see Cic.

unknown city; yet may your fortune be hateful to you. May the sea deny you passage, and the unknown land its favor. May earth threaten you with many disasters; the waters with more. May you be wretched, and if there be any whom you have been able to oblige by your services, may they mock you in your wretchedness, and trample upon you as you lie prostrate. May you be wretched, and may you yourself be pitiable to me alone. May I be moved and pained by your ills. And may all the gods, even those whom you have not vexed by any disgraceful act, conspire to your ruin. When there is nothing that you have not endured, then you may look upon your fault as at last slighter than what I have been charging, and you may say to yourself that Jupiter has been reconciled to you.

Ye gods of sea and land, ye gods who hold Jupiter's stars, and ye who rule the stream by which none dare swear falsely, nod

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Part. 17.57 Nihil est tam miserabile quam ex beato miser. Note the play on this word *miser*. In our passage, as in Ovid, there may be an extension of meaning in the adjective *miserabilis,* so that it signifies not merely 'pitiable', but actually 'pitied by' the person mentioned.

33 IRRITAVERIS: in a relative clause of characteristic expressing concession.

34 CONIURENT: among the several constructions possible with this verb, *in* with the accusative is fairly common. Cf. Liv. 39.16.5 cum aliquo in omne flagitium et facinus coniuravit; Curt. 7.1.6 in Philippi . . . caedem . . . coniurasse fuit; Quint. 4.2.72; Lact. 3.88 in legem Dei.

34 IN TUA DAMNA: this phrase occurs in Ov. Epist. 1.96 ultimus accedunt in tua damna pudor; 5.58 scilicet ut venias in mea damna celer!

36 PACATUM: a verb frequently applied to the gods by the Romans. Cf. Ov. Trist. 1.1.32 placatos misero qui volet esse deos; 1.3.40 placato possum non miser esse deo.

37 DI MARIS ET TERRAE: this expression is in direct imitation of Ov. Ib. 67 Di maris et terrae. Cf. also his Trist. 1.2.1 Di maris et caeli; 1.4.25 Parcite caerulei, vos parcite, numina ponti.

37 TENETIS: this verb means 'hold sway over' here, as in Hor. Carm. 3.14.15-6 tenete / Caesare terras; Sall. Catil. 39.2 Ii magistratus provincias aliaque omnia tenere. Here Gouvea probably has in mind such stars as the demi-gods Castor and Pollux, Phosphor, etc.

38 IMPERIURATAE: an adjective meaning 'that by which no one has sworn or dares to swear falsely', a poetical epithet of the Styx. This word is a hapax legomenon for classical literature. Its sole appearance is in Ov. Ib. 78 imperiuratae laberis amnis aquae. Its use here is an example of Gouvea's

Annuite, et votis omnes subscribite nostris;
explevit partes iustior ira suas.
Venisti, ut terra posses discedere nostra;
impositam mediis desereresque rogis.
Demophoon pelagi variis erroribus actus
intravit portus, Thracia Phylli, tuos.
Intravit, regnoque tibi lectoque receptus
commisit rapidis vela fidemque notis.

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learned borrowings and of his indebtedness to Ovid in particular. The Styx was the principal river of the lower world, around which it flowed seven times. Since Styx, the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, was the first of all the immortals who took her children to Zeus to assist him against the Titans, she herself became the divinity by whom the most solemn oaths were sworn. When one of the gods had to take an oath by the Styx, Iris brought a cup full of water from the stream, and the god, while taking the oath, poured out the liquid. Vergil says that an oath by the Styx is inviolable, Aen. 6.323–4 Cocyti stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem, / di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen. Since Apollo swore by the Styx to grant Phaethon anything that he wished, he could not deny him his chariot, Ov. Met. 2.45–6 Promissis testis adesto / dis iuranda palus oculis incognita nostris; 2.101 Stygias iuravimus undas. See also Ov. Met. 3.290-1 Stygii quoque conscia sunto / numina torrentis; timor, et deus ille deorum est!; Stat. Theb. 8.30-1 et Styx periuria divum / arguit; Sil. 13.568-70 At, magnis semper divis regique deorum / iurari dignata palus, picis horrida rivo, / fumiferum volvit Styx inter sulphura limum.

38 PRAEESTIS: the first syllable must be scanned as short. The diphthong *ae* of the prefix *prae* can be shortened before a vowel, e. g. Ov. Met. 7.131 praeacutæ.

39 ANNUITE: the ancients from Homer down believed that the gods indicated their approval of the actions of men by a nod. Cf. Hom. Il. 8.246 νεῦσε(Ζεύς) δέ οἱ λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι. The use of *annuere* is, of course, common in Ovid, e. g. Ov. Am. 3.2.50 inceptis adnue, diva, meis; Ib. 87 Adnuite optatis omnes ex ordine nostris; Pont. 2.8.51 adnuite o, timidis, mitissima numina, votis!

39 SUBSCRIBITE: this verb in the sense 'assent to' is derived from the juridical and literal use of the word 'to sign and subscribe one's name'. For the former meaning, see Colum. 1.2.3 si voto fortuna subscribit; for the latter, Plaut. Poen. 3.6.5 cras susscribam homini dicam.

40 EXPLEVIT PARTES: *pars* in the plural often means 'a part' or 'character' on the stage, e. g. Ter. Phorm. Prol. 27 primas partis qui aget, is erit Phormio; Ov. Met. 1.245 alii partes assensibus implent. In this passage, since anger has been personified, the meaning is 'the anger has played its part', or 'has fulfilled its rôle'.

assent, and all approve my prayers. An anger more than just has played its full part.

You came only that you might depart from our land and desert me when I had been laid on the funeral pyre. Demophoon, driven in various wanderings over the sea, entered your harbors, Thracian Phyllis. He entered, and although he had been welcomed to your kingdom and to your bed, he gave his pledge and sails alike to the swift south winds. Theseus deceived the daughter of Minos,

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42 MEDIIS . . . ROGIS: in these letters the idea of the funeral pile occurs several times, e. g. Epist. 1.38 (see note). In this line the use is metaphorical, i. e. Catherine was brought to death's door by lovesickness.

43–4 DEMOPHOON . . . PHYLLI: for the details of this story, see Ov. Epist. 2, Phyllis Demophoonti. Instead of uttering curses against the faithless Demophoon, such as Catherine expresses against Gouvea, Phyllis bemoans his treachery and determines to die.

43 VARIIS ERRORIBUS ACTUS: this phrase is very probably imitated from Ovid's account, Epist. 2.107 tibi, Demophoon, longis erroribus acto.

46 Gouvea resorts to a device here which, foreign to our taste except in humorous poetry, appealed to even the best of Roman poets, i. e. a combination of the literal and the metaphorical. Two ideas have coalesced in this sentence in a kind of zeugma, i. e. by setting sail Demophoon not merely took away with him his plighted love, but even before departing, he had in effect committed his vows to the winds, i. e. cast them away. The words which Gouvea uses here are similar to those of Phyllis herself about her lover's departure, Ov. Epist. 2.25 Demophoon ventis et verba et vela dedisti. The same type of sentence occurs in Dido's letter to Aeneas in Ov. Epist. 7.8–9 atque idem venti vela fidemque ferent? / Certus es, Aenea, cum foedere solvere naves? Demophoon and Aeneas, however, were not the only lovers of antiquity who abandoned their sweethearts by sailing away. In the same class were Oenone's Paris (Ov. Epist. 5.55 prosequor . . . abeuntia vela); Hypsipyle's Jason (ibid. 6.57 tu dare vela coactus); Laodamia's Protesilaus (ibid. 13.9-10 et qui tua vela vocaret, / quem cuperent nautae, non ego, ventus erat); Ariadne's Theseus (ibid. 10.4 unde tuam sine me vela tulere ratem). Other classical authors refer to uttering vows to the winds. Catullus in his account of Theseus and Ariadne speaks of the hero's leaving unfulfilled promises to the storm. Cf. Catull. 64.59 irrita ventosae linquens promissa procellae. Elsewhere he writes of the winds bearing away words and promises unratified, e. g. 30.10; 64.142; 65.17 ne tua dicta vagis nequiquam credita ventis; for other similar references, see Hor. Carm. 1.26.2-3 tradam protervis in mare creticum portare ventis; Verg. Aen. 9.312-3; Ov. Trist. 1.8.35 Cunctane in aequoreos abierunt irrita ventos?; Tib. 1.4.21-2 Veneris periuria venti / irita per terras et freta longa ferunt; Stat. Ach. 1.960.

Minoin Theseus, et te delusit Iason,
Hypsiphyle, meritis gratus uterque parum.
Phryx profugus, miseraeque Asiae desertor, Elyssam;
teque tuus, citharam docta puella, Phaon.
Lusisti tu me, ne non ego foemina credar.
Haec semper sexus fata fuere mei.
At mea conditio peior, quia, perfide, (scis tu)
infelix de te gaudia nulla tuli.
Cedere certus eras miseramque relinquere certus,
se mihi cum fallax insinuabat amor.
Serus amor mentem multo inclementius urit,
compensatque suas asperitate moras.

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47 Minoin Theseus: for the details of this story, see Ov. Epist. 10.

47 Minoin: a patronymic meaning Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, second king of Crete. Although the nominative form *Minois* occurs in classical literature (cf. Catull. 64.60; Sen. Hipp. 127), the usual accusative seems to be *Minoida* (cf. Ov. Ars 1.509; 16.349; Auson. Idyl. 12.7). The form *Minoin* may be analogous with the Greek *ὄρνιν* and used here for metrical convenience. I can find no other instance of its occurrence. The adjective *Minoia* refers to the same girl, e.g. Ov. Epist. 16 (=17).193 Minoia virgo.

47 These desertions are evidently stock examples in erotic poetry, even as the Fabricii and the Curiatii serve for courage. Note the cross references to them in the Heroides alone. In two successive lines Gouvea mentions both the daughter of Minos and Hypsipyle whereas Ovid refers to the same two women in a single line. Cf. Epist. 16(=17).193–4 Hypsipyle testis, testis Minoia virgo est, in non inhibitis utraque lusa toris. Additional references to these stories are found elsewhere in Ovid, e.g. Am. 2.18.33 tristis ad Hypsipylen ab Iasone littera venit; Ars 1.509-10 Minoida Theseus / abstulit; Epist. 4.65 Thesides Theseusque duas rapuere sorores; 15(=16).327 te rapuit Theseus; 15(=16).347 te quoque qui rapuit, rapuit Minoida Theseus.

47 Iason: Ovid wrote the sixth epistle of his Heroides, Hypsipyle Iasoni, as indicative of the girl's reactions when she heard of Jason's landing with her more fortunate rival, Medea.

48 Hypsiphyle: i.e. *Hypsipyle,* as classical authors wrote it. The former orthography, however, was not uncommon for Gouvea's time. It was a false assimilation to names in -*φύλη*; cf. *Eriphyle.*

49 profugus: i.e. Aeneas. This epithet is a real echo of Verg. Aen. 1.2 which was probably as familiar in Gouvea's time as now. For the details of the story of Dido and Aeneas, see Verg. Aen. 4; Ov. Epist. 7, Dido Aeneae.

and Jason you, Hypsipyle, both too little thankful for favors granted them. The Phrygian fugitive and deserter of hapless Asia, deceived Elissa, and your Phaon, you, maiden skilled in playing the lyre.

You have toyed with me in order to make me believe myself a woman. This has always been the fate of my sex. But my condition is worse, because, faithless man, I unfortunately (as you know) have derived no joys of love from you. You were determined to go away, determined to leave me forlorn, when deceptive love was working its way into my heart. A late love burns the heart much more unmercifully, and compensates for its delay by its poignancy.

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49 ELYSSAM: i. e. *Elissa* or *Elisa,* another name for Dido. Since *y* for *i* is not an uncommon usage in late manuscripts, Gouvea has spelled the name with a *y* as he has written *lacryma.* The name *Elissa* occurs in both prose and poetry, e. g. Iust. 18.4-6; Verg. Aen. 4.335 nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae; 5.3 infelicis Elissae; Ov. Am. 2.18.31; Epist. 7.102, 193.

50 CITHARAM DOCTA PUELLA: for another occurrence of a Greek accusative of specification with this same adjective, see Hor. Carm. 3.9.10 Dulcis docta modos et citharae sciens.

50 DOCTA PUELLA: i. e. Sappho. For the details of her love for Phaon, see Ov. Epist. 15, Sappho Phaoni.

51 FOEMINA: see note to Epist. 1.16.

53 PERFIDE: for other occurrences of this epithet, see lines 18 and 29 above. Deserted sweethearts in classical literature likewise apply this term to their faithless lovers, e. g. Dido uses it of Aeneas, Verg. Aen. 4.305, Ariadne of Theseus in Catull. 64.133 perfide . . . Theseu and in Ov. Epist. 4.59.

55 This line is very similar in thought and meaning to Dido's words in Ov. Epist. 7.7 Certus es ire tamen miseramque relinquere Didon?

56 CUM: here in Gouvea this conjunction is postpositive as in classical Latin, e. g. Caes. B. G. 5.18.2.

56 INSINUABAT: the use of the indicative emphasizes the time element rather than the circumstances.

58 COMPENSAT . . . ASPERITATE: this ablative may be used with or without *cum,* e. g. Cic. Pis. 30.75 nonne compensabit cum uno versiculo; Fin. 2.30.97 Compensabatur summis cum doloribus laetitia; Cic. de Orat. 3.4.14 summi labores nostri magna compensati gloria mitigantur.

Te per ego has lacrymas oro, mala nostra levantes,
per si quisquam hominis pectore sensus inest,
consule, quae nostrum poscat medicamina vulnus,
vulneris aut cesset qua ratione dolor.
Consulis, expectem, qui non rediturus abisti?
Scilicet haec fidei sit tibi cura tuae.
Ales Amor, te si quidquam mortalia tangunt,
ales Amor, votis saepe vocate meis,
ales Amor, sequere erronem terraque marique.
Sentiat iratos numen habere deos.
Ardeat igne novo; prisco non pungitur igne.
Flagret, et occultum pectore vulnus alat.
Haec, Goveane, mihi veniet cum fama per aures,
secura fuerit nil mihi morte prius.

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59 Te per ego has: in appeals such as this *per* and its objects are frequently separated, e. g. Ter. Andr. 5.1.15 Per ego te Deos oro; Verg. Aen. 4.314 Per . . . has lacrimas dextramque tuam; even in prose, Liv. 23.9 Per ego te, fili, quaecumque iura liberos iungunt parentibus, precor, quaesoque, ut . . .

59 per . . . lacrymas oro: in oaths, supplications, and similar expressions *per* with the accusative often occurs in Latin authors, especially in Ovid, whom Gouvea so frequently echoes. That poet, indeed, uses this specific phrase in Ariadne's final supplication to Theseus, Epist. 10.150-1 Per lacrimas oro, quas tua facta movent: / flecte ratem, Theseu, versoque relabere vento! It may be noted that in Epist. 2.35-42 Ovid piles up the accusatives to no fewer than eight within eight lines. Likewise in Epist. 12.77-80 he has Medea swear by four things within as many lines.

60 For *per* immediately followed by a *si* clause of which the subject is an indefinite pronoun, see Verg. Aen. 2.142 per siqua est . . . intemerata fides, oro, i. e. per eam; Ov. Met. 7.854 per siquid merui de te bene.

60 hominis: the construing of this word is a bit problematical. Does it go with *sensus* with the meaning of 'human', or *pectore* with the meaning of 'heart of man' in general? Its position naturally throws it with both.

63 expectem . . . abisti: this is very probably another echo of the words of Phyllis about her lover, Demophoon, Ov. Epist. 2.9 Expectem, qui me numquam visurus abisti?

64 scilicet: on account of the sarcastic force of this adverb Catherine implies: 'This must be your regular way of showing your regard for your promise, this may be all the integrity that you have in your promise.'

I entreat you by these tears which ease my sufferings, or by whatever human feeling lies in your breast, consider what remedies my wound requires, or in what way the pain of the wound may cease. Should I expect you to take thought, you who went away with no intentions of returning? To be sure this would be your regard for your promise.

Winged love, if human affairs affect you at all, winged Love, often called upon in my prayers, winged Love, follow the wanderer over land and sea. Let him feel that the gods, when angered, have power. Let him burn with a new fire, for he is not troubled by his old-time flame. Let him be on fire and let him nourish a hidden wound in his heart. Nothing will be preferable to my ears than this news, Gouvea; because of it my death will be free of care.

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65 ALES: this adjective is likewise found in classical Latin with the word *Amor*, e. g. Verg. Catal. 14.9–10 ales . . . Amor. There are additional examples of its occurrence in reference to Cupid, e. g. Hor. Carm. 3.12.4 Cythereae puer ales; Pervig. Ven. 68 alitis dei; Drac. Romul. 2.75. *Ales* is also applied to Mercury, e. g. Val. Fl. 4.385.

65 MORTALIA TANGUNT: these same words are found in Verg. Aen. 1.462 sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.

67 TERRAQUE MARIQUE: as in Epist. 1.77.

69 IGNE: cf. note to line 13 above.

69 PRISCO . . . IGNE: cf. line 13 above: nec prisco tangitur igne.

69 PUNGITUR: this verb means 'to prick' or 'to pierce', e. g. Cic. Mil. 24.65. Its figurative sense is 'to trouble' or 'to disturb', etc., e. g. Cic. Fam. 7.15 Pungit me, quod scribis, . . .

70 VULNUS ALAT: this expression is common in erotic writers, e. g. it is used of Dido, Verg. Aen. 4.2 vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.

72 She is perfectly willing to die provided this wish be granted.

Epistola Tertia

Goveanus Catharinae

Expectas tibi dum mittam, Catharina, salutem?
Hei mihi, quo careat, mittere nemo potest.
Luna quater latuit, nec enim me tempora fallunt,
nec tua sunt oculis reddita verba meis.
Quae potuere tuam tenuisse oblivia mentem?
Ipse tuus, domina tu mihi nuper eras.
Nec libertatis pretium mihi blanda poposci
oscula; vix tanti vita putanda fuit.
Non petii amplexus, audentem Ixiona saevae
dilacerant medium diripiuntque rotae.
Haec tua nobilitas, vitae sine crimine mores,
hic decor, arbitrii iura tulere mei.
Atque utinam neque forma tibi neque cana fuisset

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1 EXPECTAS: although *exspecto* was the regular classical spelling, even before the time of Quintilian *expecto* was introduced (cf. Brambach, Die Neugestaltung der Lateinischen Orthographie, 44).

1 SALUTEM: there seems to be a play upon the word *salutem* here. Since it is regularly a part of the opening address to one's correspondent (cf. *s. d.* and *s. p. d.*), it may almost be equivalent here to *litteras*: 'Are you expecting me to send you a letter?'; 'Are you looking for a letter from me?' But in line 2 Gouvea gives it the turn 'nobody can send *salus*' ('well being', 'a wish of good fortune') to another when he lacks *salus* himself. *Salus* in the sense of 'greeting' is used with other verbs, e. g. *accipere, dicere, nuntiare, reddere*; cf. Plaut. Bacch. 2.3.11 Quin tu salutem primum reddis quam dedi; Epid. 4.1.21 Salutem accipio mi et meis; Cic. Fam. 7.14.1 salutem enim verbis tuis mihi nuntiarat.

3 LUNA QUATER LATUIT: this seems to be a direct borrowing from Ovid, Epist. 2.5 where Phyllis addresses these same words to Demophoon.

5 TENUISSE: for the use of the perfect infinitive with present force, see note to Epist. 1.53.

5 OBLIVIA: the common word for 'forgetfulness' is *oblivio*, although *oblivium*, usually in the plural, is found in poetry (because *oblivio* [*-nis*] cannot stand in hexameter) and once in Tacitus, e. g. Lucr. 3.828 oblivia rerum; Verg. Aen. 6.715 longa oblivia potant; Hor. Sat. 2.6.62 ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae; Ov. Met. 12.539 oblivia laudis; Tac. Hist. 4.9 sententiam . . . oblivio transmisit.

6 TUUS: used absolutely or with *dominus* implied in *domina*.

Third Letter

Gouvea to Catherine

Are you waiting for me to send my wish of good will, Catherine? Woe is me, no one can send what he lacks. Four times has the moon hid her light, for the seasons do not escape my attention, and no words of yours have been brought to my eye. What forgetfulness could have taken possession of your mind? Only a little while ago I was your sweetheart and you were mine. And I did not demand caressing kisses as the reward of this privilege; my life was scarcely to be rated so high. Nor did I seek embraces; the cruel wheels pull and between them tear to pieces daring Ixion. This nobility of yours, the faultless character of your life, this beauty of yours, laid down the laws for my decision. And I wish that you had not possessed beauty, nor nobility of hoary antiquity,

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6 DOMINA: this word is frequently used by the elegiac poets to mean 'sweetheart', e. g. Tib. 1.1.46; 3.4.74; Prop. 1.4.2. It occurs again in line 16 below. For the long ultima, see note on *facile*, Epist. 1.68.

7 LIBERTATIS: i. e. the liberty of calling her *domina*.

7–8 Gouvea does not feel that he is worthy of the full rewards of love: 'Merely because we were *dominus* and *domina* to each other and I was free to call you "sweetheart", I did not expect and exact from you the usual tokens of love'.

9 PETII AMPLEXUS: Ovid uses the same word combination, Epist. 14. 69 dum petis amplexus; Met. 6.605 amplexumque petit.

9 AUDENTEM IXIONA: for a reference to Ixion in classical literature as an adulterer, see Ov. Met. 12.504–6.

9–10 SAEVAE . . . ROTAE: only one wheel is mentioned in our ancient accounts, e. g. Ov. Met. 10.42 stupuitque Ixionis orbis. Although *rotae* could be interpreted as the ordinary poetic plural, that would not account for *medium* or the force of the verbs. The plural form of the noun may indicate the presence of a number of wheels, probably two, which tore Ixion to pieces between them. Another meaning is possible since *rotae* can mean 'chariots' by metonymy. Perhaps Gouvea has confused the story of Ixion with that of Mettius Fufetius, the treacherous dictator of Alba, who was torn asunder by chariots driven in opposite directions at the command of Tullus Hostilius (Liv. 1.28).

11 NOBILITAS: see note to Epist. 1.44.

12 DECOR: from Gouvea's description in Epigr. 1.36.1–6 we conclude that Catherine must have been very beautiful. See also 2.28.1.

nobilitas mores nec sine labe tui.
Vixissem multo sane felicior; esses
nec mihi tu domina, nec tibi servus ego.
Iamne tuus non sum, neque me facis ipsa tuorum?
Crimine quo potui non tuus esse meo?
Si tibi noster amor paucis evanuit horis,
cur non ingenii sum, Catharina, tui?
Longa mihi geminant conceptam tempora flammam,
multiplicantque meos tempus et hora rogos.
Tune meis lacrymis lacrymas sine fine dedisti,
iunxistique meis talia verba sonis?
"Hinc potes avelli? Dominam, fugitive, relinques?
Haeccine mentiti finis amoris erit?
Te quid ego infelix, me quid tu semper amasti?
Dic, ubi nostra fides? Dic, ubi noster amor?"
Haec nisi me fallo, neque sum mihi credulus ipse,
vox non occulti testis amoris erat.
Testis amoris erat, hoc saltem parce negare.
Tam castus non est dissimulandus amor.
Et tua (nam recolo) nunquam mihi dicere lingua
supremum potuit sustinuitque vale.

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16 DOMINA: for the long ultima, see note on *facile*, Epist. 1.68.

20 Gouvea apparently means: 'Why have I not the same nature that you have, so as not to care?'

21–2 GEMINANT . . . MULTIPLICANT: our author uses the compound *ingeminare* and *multiplicare* in an earlier line, Epist. 1.48.

22 ROGOS: see note to Epist. 1.38.

23 Gouvea means: 'I have cried much over this; have you ever done so?'

25 HINC POTES AVELLI: this is another reminiscence of Ovid. Cf. Met. 4.152–3 quique a me morte revelli / heu! sola poteras, poteris nec morte revelli; Trist. 1.3.81 Non potes avelli.

25 This line, written in amplification of *talia verba* (line 24), contains imaginary questions of Catherine made up by Gouvea to match what he is saying about her.

26 We may hesitate whether we should include line 26 in the questions that Gouvea puts in Catherine's mouth. But I prefer to include the next four lines, since that arrangement fits in well with 29 ff.

nor an unblemished character. Certainly I should have lived much more happily; for you would not be my sweetheart, nor I your slave.

Am I no longer yours, and do you yourself not count me as one of your admirers? Through what fault of mine could I possibly have ceased to be yours? If, so far as you are concerned, our love has vanished within a few hours, why am I not of your temperament, Catherine? In my case the long hours only double the flame which I have conceived, and time and hour increase my deadly passion. Have you added tears without end to my tears and matched my utterances with like words of your own? "Can you endure being separated from me? Will you, like a runaway slave, leave your sweetheart? Was the love only feigned and will this be the end of it? Why did I, unhappy girl that I am, always love you; why did you always love me? Tell me, where is our pledge? Tell me, where is our love?"

If I am not deceiving myself in this and if I am not putting too much faith in my memory, it was no concealed love to which our voice bore witness. It was love to which it bore witness; this at least do not deny. So pure a love as ours needs no dissimulation. And your tongue (for I recollect) could never say and endure to say a last farewell to me.

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26 HAECCINE: this shows a sporadic doubling of *c* after the vowel of the accented syllable.

29 CREDULUS: this adjective may be used with either the dative case or with *in* and the accusative case for things, e.g. Verg. Ecl. 9.34 non ego credulus illis; Prop. 1.3.28 vano credulus auspicio; Ov. Fast. 4.312 nos in vitium credula turba sumus.

30 NON OCCULTI: i.e. 'our voice bore witness to a love of which we were aware'. Cf. Lydia 62 occulti . . . amoris.

31 ERAT: for the long ultima, see note on *facile*, Epist. 1.68.

33–4 DICERE . . . SUSTINUIT: the same infinitive with this verb is likewise found in classical poetry, e.g. Ov. Met. 6.367–8 nec dicere sustinet ultra / verba minora dea. Cf. also ibid. 10.47 sustinet oranti . . . negare; and 13.584 sustinuit spectare parens.

34 SUPREMUM . . . VALE: this combination is found in Ov. Met. 10.62, where Orpheus parts from Eurydice, who descends into Hades for the second time.

Nunc tibi si rerum facies indigna mearum
despicitur, sortis crimine laedor ego.
Despicienda tamen fortunae iniuria nostrae
non venit, at potius illa dolenda venit.
Illa dolenda venit saltem, lacrymisque iuvanda:
id pietatis erat officiique tui.
Sola tamen fortuna deest, non altior omni
mens casu et duris durior usque malis.
Non exculta deest studiis melioribus aetas,
non deest ingenio fama benigna meo.
Non deest nobilitas ab avis proavisque relicta,
successor cuius ordine factus ego.
Non deest (quo recreor) viridisque valensque iuventa,
non spes ad magnos difficilesque gradus.
Sola mihi fortuna deest, Catharina; sed illa
non uno semper statque manetque loco.
Ultima contigerant, fateor; hinc turpis egestas,
hinc pudor, hinc saevus bella movebat amor.
Est tamen hic quod ames, possis quod spernere non est.
Endymion pastor, pastor Adonis erat.
Dum Paris Idaeis pascebat collibus agnos,

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37 FORTUNAE: is an objective genitive depending on *iniuria*, the literal meaning being 'the injury to my fortune does not come as something to engender scorn'.

38 POTIUS: for the long ultima, see note on *facile*, Epist. 1.68.

40 PIETATIS: since Catherine loves Gouvea, he considers it a part of her rôle as his sweetheart to be able at least to sympathize with him in his misfortunes.

40 ERAT: for the long ultima, see note on *facile*, Epist. 1.68.

41 SOLA: i. e. money is the only thing which he lacks, and this lack is compensated for by his brave spirit, refinement, and the name which he has made for himself in his career.

41 DEEST: this is the first of six occurrences of this word within nine lines. The curious fact to be noted is that three of these forms are uncontracted (lines 41, 43, 49) whereas the other three (lines 44, 45, 47) are contracted in accordance with regular classical usage, as, e. g. Lucr. 1.43 desse.

42 DURIS DURIOR: this play on *durus* is in the same style as Epist. 1.33–4 fatalis . . . fatis.

If now the condition of my affairs is scorned by you as unworthy, it is by a crime of fortune that I am injured. But the injury to my fortune should not arouse scorn, but rather sorrow. It should at least arouse sorrow and be solaced by tears. That was to be expected of your affection and duty.

Yet fortune alone is lacking, not a mind that rises superior to all mischance, and is even tougher than tough disasters. I lack not a life that has been refined by higher studies, nor lack a favorable reputation for talent. I lack not rank bequeathed from grandfathers and great-grandfathers, to which I have succeeded in due order. I lack not a green stalwart youth (by which I am refreshed) nor hope for important and difficult advancement. Good fortune is all I lack, Catherine, but she does not always stay and remain in one place. The worst had happened, I admit; from that time on, ugly poverty, shame, and cruel love stirred up quarrels.

Yet in this case there is reason for your loving me; there could be none for your scorning me. Endymion was a mere shepherd, so was Adonis too. While Paris tended his lambs on the slopes of

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44 NON DEEST: cf. lines 45 and 47. A quadruple anaphora. See Epist. 1.29, 33 *hinc . . . hinc*; 1.49, 51 *istud . . . istud.*

45 PROAVIS: see note to Epist. 1.41.

46 CUIUS: singular to refer to *nobilitas.* For the long ultima of *cuius,* see note on *facile,* Epist. 1.68.

46 ORDINE: see Introd. 14.

48 SPES AD: this combination does not seem to occur with a noun in the accusative case in classical Latin.

51 FATEOR: for the long ultima, see note on *facile,* Epist. 1.68.

51 SAEVUS . . . AMOR: this is the second time that Gouvea calls amor *saevus* (cf. Epist. 1.60).

53–4 Note the chiastic arrangement of these lines.

54 ENDYMION: for reference in classical literature to Selene's falling in love with the shepherd lad, see Paus. 5.1.4; Apollon. Rhod. 4.54–8; Cic. Tusc. 1.38.92; Ov. Ars 3.83.

54 PASTOR: although Vergil does not call Adonis *pastor*, he says, in Ecl. 10.18 formosus ovis ad flumina pavit Adonis. Servius (on Verg. Ecl. 10.16) speaks of him thus: nam etiam Adonis quondam ovium extitit pastor.

54 ADONIS: for the complete story of Venus and Adonis, see Ov. Met. 10.503–59, 708–39.

55 PARIS: cf. Eur. Troad. 920–47; Prop. 2.3.37–40.

pauper erat, nympha pauperis uxor erat.
Nil ego tale peto; numero me iunge tuorum.
Ipse tibi vitae debitor huius ero.
An neque te nostri tenuere oblivia, sortis
nec despecta tibi forma pudenda meae?
An tibi suspitio est, alios me quaerere amores,
et captiva novo subdere colla iugo?
Caussa quidem iusta est, et amoris plena sagacis;
illa tamen nobis significanda fuit.
Non ea vis animo, nec amores tempora poscunt
nostra, nec in miseris se novus abdit amor.
Atque utinam vitae ratio tibi cognita nostrae
esset, ab hac vacuus suspitione forem.
Vivimus, at vitam lucemque hominesque perosi;
estque puto ad lacrymas vita relicta mihi.
Conquerimur tardos nocti succedere soles,
decipimus lacrymis eximimusque dies.
Atque utinam lacrymas oculi, Catharina, negarent;
deficeret tantis obruta vita malis.
O quoties brevibus numero pro mensibus annos!

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56 NYMPHA: for the long ultima, see note on *facile*, Epist. 1.68. The word *nympha* refers to the nymph Oenone, whom Paris had loved when a youth, and then abandoned for Helen. Remembering the wrongs that she had endured, she refused to heal Paris' wound, although she later repented. Cf. Tennyson, Oenone.

57 Gouvea asks little of Catherine, for he wishes only to be counted among her dearer friends.

59 TENUERE OBLIVIA: this expression occurs in line 5 above, but in a different sense.

61 SUSPITIO: i. e. *suspicio*, the usual form among classical writers. A confusion of *c* and *t* is, of course, common in Latin manuscripts and the similarity of the letters is noticeable in certain hands. In late Latin there arose a confusion in the pronunciation of *ci* and *ti*. In English there is a survival of this in the old form 'condicion' and modern 'condition'.

62 SUBDERE COLLA: a not uncommon expression in amatory verse, e. g. Tib. 1.2.90 post Veneris vinclis subdere colla senem.

63 CAUSSA: this spelling is sometimes used elsewhere by Gouvea, e. g.

Ida, he was poor, and the nymph was the wife of a poor man.

I seek no such reward; include me in the number of your admirers. I myself will be the debtor to you for this life of mine. Has not my disregard for myself touched you, and ought not you to feel ashamed that you have looked with scorn upon the status of my lot?

Do you suspect that I am seeking another sweetheart and that I am putting my captive neck under a new yoke? That is a just reason, indeed, and a reason that comes from a discerning love; yet it is a reason that I ought to have indicated by some conduct of mine. My heart does not have this desire, nor do my circumstances require amours, nor does a new love when men are wretched hide itself. And I wish that my way of living had been known to you, for I should be free from this suspicion.

I live, but thoroughly hating life, light, and men; and life has been left me, I suppose, merely for tears. I complain that the sun is slow in giving place to night; I while away and waste the days in tears. And I wish that my eyes were refusing their tears, Catherine, that my life, overwhelmed by such great misfortunes, would come to an end. Oh, how often do I count years for brief

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Epigr. 1.8.3; 1.30.3; Epist. 4.39. The *s* of *caussa* was originally a double *s*, but it was disused after early imperial times.

64 I. e. 'I have given you no cause to suspect me'.

65 NON EA VIS ANIMO: this phrase is certainly Vergilian, e. g. Aen. 1.529.

69 PEROSI: in classical Latin this adjective occurs with the same noun *lucem*, e. g. Verg. Aen. 6.435 lucemque perosi. Cf. Ov. Met. 7.582–3 An, quod debuit esse, / ut vitam odissem?

71 This line resembles another one written by our author in Epigr. 55.3 conqueror ignavam luci succedere noctem.

72 DECIPIMUS: for the use of this verb in poetry as applied to time, see Ov. Trist. 4.10.114 sic tamen absumo decipioque diem; Stat. Silv. 4.4.19.

72 EXIMIMUS DIES: cf. Cic. ad Q. Fr. 2.1.3 Clodius rogatus diem dicendo eximere coepit; Liv. 1.50.8. The noun *tempus* also occurs with the same verb, e. g. Cic. Att. 4.3.3 Metellus calumnia dicendi tempus exemit; Suet. Oth. 6.1.

73 LACRYMAS . . . NEGARENT: in poetry inanimate objects may occur with this verb, e. g. Ov. Met. 11.487 vela negare.

Forsitan id metuis, quoniam nil contigit, esse
vel mihi dulce tuum, vel tibi dulce meum.
Dulce nihil fateor, tamen a te quidquid amarum est,
dulce fit, et propriis mulceor ipse malis.
Quid facias? Adimit sensus mentemque Cupido;
contingitque vafer melle venena puer.
Testor ego has lacrymas, tot quae fecere lituras,
testor et haec animi conscia signa mei;
te, numenque tuum, quo non praesentius ullum,
esse, velis nolis, me, Catharina, tuum;
meque fuisse tuum, cum non mihi visa fuisses,
et fore, quod superest tempus in omne, tuum;
et duraturum, duret dum vita. Beatus
ille mihi, potuit quisquis amando mori.

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93 ESSE: by a simple change of the *esset* of the text to *esse* some sense can be made of what otherwise seems hopeless.

97 QUID FACIAS?: this is the second time that Gouvea uses this exclamation (cf. Epist. 1.60).

97 SENSUS: cf. Catull. 51.6 eripit sensus mihi.

98 VAFER . . . PUER: in addition to being tricky, Cupid was even accused of teaching others his cunning, e. g. Ov. Epist. 19 (=20).30 consultoque fui iuris Amore vafer.

99 LITURAS: here Gouvea is echoing Propertius, who ascribes to tear stains the blotted portions of his letter to Cynthia, 4 (=5).3.3–4 Si qua tamen tibi lecturo pars oblita derit, / haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis.

It may be that you are afraid of this, since nothing has happened, that what is sweet to you is so to me or what is sweet to me is also so to you. I am ready to say that there is nothing sweet and yet whatever comes from you that is bitter is changed into something sweet and I find comfort from my own misfortunes.

What would you do? Cupid robs one of his senses and his mind; the artful boy mingles poisons with honey. I call to witness these tears, cause of many erasures; I call to witness these outward signs, testimony to my inner feelings; and you and your divine power, than which no other is more constantly with me, that I am yours, Catherine, whether you will or no; and that I was yours, even before I had seen you, and shall be yours in all time to come, and my love will last as long as life lasts. Happy in my eyes the man who has been able to die for love.

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101 NUMEN: Gouvea becomes pagan again (cf. Epist. 1.80). He refers to his sweetheart's 'guardian angel' or 'protecting deity' which may be the divine spirit, presence, or influence of Catherine herself.

103 This line repeats in different words the meaning of Epist. 1.89 crede mihi, nondum visam Goveanus amavit.

104 TEMPUS IN OMNE, TUUM: this is an echo of an earlier line of Gouvea's, Epist. 1.96 tempus in omne tuus. Cf. also 4.56.

106 AMANDO: the final *o* is short here. The dative or ablative *o* begins to be short in late Latin, e. g. Iuv. 3.232 vigilando.

Epistola Quarta

Goveanus Catharinae

Perlege; quid dubitas? Num te novus impedit ardor?
  Non venit hostili littera scripta manu.
Aspice nostrarum lacrymarum signa lituras,
  verbaque pro domino nil valitura suo.
Perdere verba tamen miseris in parte bonorum est
  et desperatam quaerere rebus opem.
Me dum vix tulerat sex mater Inesia menses,
  vixque mihi vitae spiritus ullus erat,
haec cum per noctem species oblata parenti est:
  (hei mihi, foemineus non erat ille metus!)
me procul a patria telo transfixerat infans;
  caecus erat, matri si sit habenda fides.
Ah mater, vates nimium mihi vera fuisti;
  en in transfixo pectore tela manent.
En longe patria est, longe vos estis, amici,
  en fugit ad lacrymas hospita terra meas.
O utinam vastum nunquam maris aequor arassem,
  nec portum intrassem, Gallica terra, tuum.
Non morerer, Catharina, sciensque vidensque; fuisses
  nec tu visa mihi, nec tibi visus ego.
Nec crudelis Amor,—quis enim puer ille fuisset?—

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1 NOVUS . . . ARDOR: the implication here seems to be that Gouvea thinks that Catherine is faithful to him and that she has not succumbed to a new love. Cf. Epist. 3.66 nec in miseris se novus abdit amor.

2 LITTERA: for the use of the singular number, see note to Epist. 1.2.

3 LITURAS: this is the second occurrence of the idea of an 'erasure' due to tears. Cf. Epist. 3.99.

5 PERDERE VERBA: this phrase belongs to the vocabulary of Ovid, e.g. Trist. 1.2.13 Verba miser frustra non proficientia perdo.

7–9 DUM VIX . . . CUM . . . OBLATA EST: the inversion *dum vix* is without parallel in classical Latin, but it is obviously used for *vixdum*. For the mood, see Lane, Latin Grammar, 1869.

7 MATER INESIA: here Gouvea calls his mother by name, whereas in Epist. 1.20 he calls her *mater*. Cf. Introd. 15.

10 HEI MIHI: see note to Epist. 1.70.

Fourth Letter

Gouvea to Catherine

Read the letter through, why do you hesitate? A new love does not deter you, does it? This letter does not come to you penned by a hostile hand. Look at the erasures, the marks of my tears, and the words which will be of no avail in their author's behalf. Yet to waste words when one is in a state of misery and to seek help in time of despair is the lot of good men.

My mother, Inez, had been carrying me hardly six months, and scarcely was there any spark of life in me, when this vision appeared to her during the night (alas, that was not a mere woman's dread!). Far from my native land a boy had pierced me with a weapon; he was blind, if I am to believe my mother. Ah mother, you were too true a prophet for me; see, the weapons have pierced my breast and remain there. Far away is my native country, far away are you, my friends, and a land friendly to my tears fails me.

I wish that I had never plowed the vast expanse of the sea, and that I had never entered your harbor, Gallic land. I should not be dying, Catherine, knowing of you and with visions of you. I should not have seen you, nor would you have seen me. And cruel Love—for who else could that boy have been?—would not

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10 FOEMINEUS: for this orthography, see note to Epist. 1.16.

11 PATRIA: i. e. Portugal. Cf. Epist. 1.17; Introd. 16.

11 TELO: i. e. the fatal arrow of love.

12 CAECUS: the application of this epithet to love is rather common in Latin literature, e. g. Catull. 67.25 impia mens caeco flagrabat amore; Verg. Georg. 3.210; Hor. Carm. 1.18.14; Val. Fl. 6.454.

16 FUGIT: here indicates the lack of something, in the sense of *deficit.* Cf. Verg. Cir. 448 Iam fesso tandem fugiunt de corpore vires.

16 AD . . . HOSPITA: there seems to be no classical example of *hospita ad.*

16 HOSPITA TERRA: Gouvea's native land, Portugal, which would be hospitable to him, is far away, and a foreign country cannot afford him the solace which he needs and desires.

17 O UTINAM: see note to Epist. 2.15.

17 AEQUOR ARASSEM: see note to Epist. 1.39.

19 SCIENSQUE VIDENSQUE: these words are found also in Epigr. 96.7.

fixisset iaculis mollia corda suis.
Quid queror? Aut quis ego? Fatorum immobilis ordo
sic erat; in dominos ius habet ille deos.
Mens, fer et obdura; culpae tibi conscia non es.
Si quid erit, merito quod patiare, dole.
Non mihi laesus Amor, matris non spreta potestas,
non sum Tydidae criminis author ego.
Non data deserui duce signa Cupidine; semper,
semper militiae dux fuit ille meae.
Non detrectavi noctuque diuque labores,
pro quibus a puero gratia nulla mihi.
Hic si culpa mea est, et culpae laedimur ergo,
iam dubito, iustos an rear esse deos.
Parce infelices sceleris damnare, Cupido;
vatibus insensum non decet esse tuis.
Dic mihi, quid feci, nisi quod bene semper amavi?
Esse reus possum criminis huius ego.
Tu, Catharina, potes caussae subscribere nostrae;
pectoris integritas est tibi nota mei.
Sis iniustra licet, neque te clementia tangat,
sperem iudicio vincere posse tuo.
Me miserum! Quali dico sub iudice caussam!
Aspice, quam nobis caussa det ipsa fidem.

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22 MOLLIA CORDA: because of lines 19–20, I take it that *mollia corda* does not mean 'my tender heart' but 'our tender hearts'. This combination is frequent in the poets, e. g. Ov. Pont. 1.3.32 confiteor misero molle cor esse mihi; Trist. 5.8.28 molle cor; Iuv. 15.131 Mollissima corda.

23 FATORUM ORDO: this refers to the series of events which are immutably set down by the Fates. Cf. Cic. Div. 1.55 Fatum autem id appello, quod Graeci εἱμαρμένην, id est, ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causa causae nexa rem ex se gignat.

24 IN DOMINOS IUS HABET: this expression is used by Gouvea elsewhere, e. g. Epigr. 1.1.4 in dominum scis me iuris habere nihil.

25 FER ET OBDURA: cf. Ov. Ars 2.178 prefer et obdura!

27 MATRIS: i. e. Venus.

28 TYDIDAE: during a battle in the Trojan War, Diomedes felled Pandarus and Aeneas. When Venus endeavored to cover her son with her shin-

have pierced our tender hearts with his arrows. Why do I complain? Or who am I? This was the immutable plan of the Fates; and that law has jurisdiction over our lords, the gods.

Bear up, my soul, and be strong; you are not conscious of any fault. Grieve only if there be anything you deserve to suffer. I have done Love no hurt; I have not scorned his mother's power; I am not guilty of any such crime as that of Diomedes. I have not deserted the standards given me by my leader, Cupid; he has always been my leader in love's campaigning—always. Neither night nor day have I avoided toil, for which the boy has shown me no gratitude. If this is my fault, and if I suffer on account of fault, I am beginning to doubt whether I should think that the gods are just.

Do not accuse the unfortunate of wrong doing, Cupid; it is not proper for you to be deaf to your own bards. Tell me, what have I done, except always loved honorably? Of this misdeed I can indeed be charged. You can bear witness to my cause, Catherine; you know the integrity of my heart. Although you are not fair to me and are not touched by mercy, I should hope to be able to win my case through your decision.

Woe is me! Before what a judge I am pleading my case! See what confidence my very cause gives to me. No constant obser-

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ing veil, the Greek hero grazed the palm of her hands with his spear. Cf. Hom. Il. 5.286–362.

30 See note to Epist. 1.28.

31 DIUQUE: although *interdiu* became the usual adverb for 'by day', *diu* was very occasionally found in this sense (cf. Lindsay, Latin Language, 555). It was commonly used in conjunction with *noctu*, e. g. Plaut. Cas. 4.4.6 noctuque et diu.

32 PUERO: i. e. Cupid.

33 ERGO: for an explanation of the governing power of this word, see note to Epist. 2.5.

35 Cf. Ov. Remed. Am. 3 Parce tuum vatem sceleris damnare, Cupido.

37 BENE: in the light of the preceding portion of this letter, the use of this adverb must refer to a virtuous love.

39 SUBSCRIBERE: see note to Epist. 2.39.

Te non officii iugis observantia nostri,
te non castus amor, non sine labe fides,
non servata mihi variis constantia rebus
adducit. Nolis immemor esse mei.
Id sat erit misero, nec amari poscimus abs te;
oderis, ast odii caussa sit unus amor.
Aspice qua servire tibi sum lege paratus,
spiritus invisas dum trahet iste moras.
At, bene dum reputo, legem quis ponat amori?
Quem non imperiis continet ille suis?
Oderis ergo licet, nostri sis immemor usque,
sum tuus, et maneo tempus in omne tuus.
Esse tuus possum, contra licet aspera pugnes;
at tuus ut dicar, tu dare sola potes.
Non merui, fateor; merito sine, gratia crescit;
virtutique patet latior ara tuae.
Ne cadat ante diem, viridis miserere iuventae;
ossa peregrina neve tegantur humo.
Ingenii miserere mei; me pungere nuper
sobrius aeterni coepit honoris amor.
Utque tuum legerent nomen post fata nepotes,
saepe mihi in laudes Musa vocata tuas.
Forte erit, ut nostri vivant monumenta laboris,
inque manus serae posteritatis eant,
virtutisque tuae fiat mea pagina testis.
Crede mihi, fugiunt carmina sola diem.

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45 IUGIS: the first syllable is scanned short as in Sedul. 1.18.

50 One of the great mysteries of Love throughout the ages has been the close connection of love and hatred. In classical Latin, this phenomenon is stated in Catull. 85.1-2 Odi et amo. Quare id faciam fortasse requiris. / Nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior. It has often figured in ancient literature and in modern works, e. g. Seneca, Medea; Sienkiewicz, Quo Vadis?; and Lombroso, La Donna Delinquente.

56 TEMPUS IN OMNE TUUS: Gouvea has used this same expression in Epist. 1.96. It almost repeats Epist. 3.104 quod superest tempus in omne, tuum.

60 This line very probably means that if Catherine accords Gouvea her

vance of mutual obligation, no chaste love, no unblemished faith, nor any constancy maintained by me on various occasions has influence with you. Still don't allow yourself to be wholly forgetful of me. That will be enough for unhappy me, and I ask not even for your love; you may hate me, but let love alone be the cause of your hatred. Note under what terms I am prepared to serve you, as long as that life of mine shall prolong its slow and hateful course.

But as I reconsider the situation carefully, who can set a law for love? Whom does it not constrain by its commands? Therefore, although you hate me, although you are constantly unmindful of me, I am yours, and yours I remain for all time. I can be yours, even though you bitterly oppose me; but you alone can grant me the right of being called yours. I have not deserved it, I admit; the graciousness of your love is increased because I do not deserve it, and the altar on which I make offering to your goodness is all the broader in its expanse.

Have pity on my youth in its flower, that it may not perish before its time and my bones be buried in foreign soil. Have pity on my talent; a sober desire for eternal fame has of late begun to goad me. In order that posterity may read your name after your death, I have often invoked my Muse to sing your praises. It may be that the results of my labor will live on and come into the hands of late posterity, and that my page will bear witness to your virtue. Believe me, it is only poems that escape death.

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love, although he does not deserve it, he will in turn celebrate her virtue all the more in his poems.

63 PUNGERE: although originally meaning 'to prick', this verb is often used in much the same sense as *stimulo*. Cf. Cic. S. Rosc. 2.6 (scrupulum) qui se dies noctesque stimulat ac pungit; Tusc. 3.34.82 ignominia pupugit.

67 FORTE ERIT UT: this phrase occurs also in Epist. 1.85, although there seems to be no classical example.

70 DIEM: apparently = *supremum* or *summam diem*. The masculine adjective occurs in Suet. Tib. 67; the feminine one in Ov. Am. 3.9.27 hunc quoque summa dies nigro submersit Averno. It is the old, familiar notion

Sin te non miseret nostri, miserere parentis;
    ultima sors partus illius ipse fui.
Tres illi nati, quos Gallia detinet omnes;
    nec desiderium quo minuatur, habet;
sola domo moeret vidua natosque patremque.
    I nunc, et leti caussa ferare mei.
Et Lusitanis absit licet illa sub oris,
    at celeris nimium nuntia fama mali.
Quod si te forsan possent mala nostra iuvare,
    quae paterer, sane ferre suave foret.
Sin te nulla iuvant aliena incommoda, verum
    nil opus est rapidis fundere verba notis.
Utere iure tuo, quoniam sic fata tulerunt;
    eripe quae sola est vita relicta mihi.
Ibimus ad miseras, valde nisi fallimur, umbras,
    quas dirus caeca tabe peredit Amor.
Ibimus, et mecum sylva condentur eadem
    Hypsiphyle, Dido, Laodamia, Procris.
Ibimus, et lacrymas omnes miscebimus una;
    crede mihi, sexus laus erat ista tui.
Iliacam ut vidit classem procedere velis,
    ipsa sua Dido concidit icta manu.

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of the immortality of poetry, i. e. poetry alone escapes death (*diem supremum*). Cf. ibid. 3.9.28 defugiunt avidos carmina sola rogos. Gouvea evidently felt that his juridical works would not attain immortality but that his poems would live forever. It may be a subtle compliment to Catherine in that she was the inspiration for his poetry.

71 PARENTIS: i. e. matris.

72 ULTIMA SORS: see note to Epist. 1.20.

72 ILLIUS: for metrical reasons the second *i* is scanned short as in Verg. Aen. 1.41; 2.131 unĭus.

73 TRES . . . NATI: cf. Introd. 17. Although the sons were born in Portugal, once they went to France, they stayed there.

75 SOLA: for *solo,* the unmetrical text of Vaassen, which cannot be translated.

75 VIDUA: cf. Introd. 17.

80 SUAVE: is scanned with three syllables here as in Sedul. 1.274.

But if you do not pity me, (at least) pity my mother; I myself was the last child to whom she gave birth. She had three sons, all of whom France keeps as citizens, and she has nothing to alleviate her longing for me; alone in her widowed home she mourns sons and father.

Go then, and be called the cause of my death. Although she may be far away on Lusitanian shores, yet a rumor of misfortune is news that comes all too soon. But if it chanced that my misfortunes could please you, it would surely be sweet to endure whatever I might suffer. But if you find no pleasure in the misfortunes of another, there is no real need of pouring out my words on the swift winds. Use your right, since the Fates have so decreed; rob me of life, which is all that is left to me.

Unless I greatly err, I shall join those unhappy shades whom cruel Love has consumed with blind wasting. I shall go to them, and with me in the same wood will be hidden Hypsipyle, Dido, Laodamia, Procris. I shall go, and we shall all mingle our tears together; believe me, that used to be the merit of your sex. When Dido saw the Trojan fleet set sail, she herself fell struck by her

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82 FUNDERE VERBA: here Gouvea uses a different verb for 'uttering words in vain' in contrast to Epist. 2.46 where the verb *committere* is found.

86 This line recalls Verg. Aen. 6.442 Hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit (note *amor*, not *Amor*).

88 The following lines are pedantic and a good example of the Alexandrian style at its worst.

88 HYSIPHYLE: see note to Epist. 2.47–8.

88 DIDO: see note to Epist. 2.49.

88 LAODAMIA: for the story of Laodamia and of her great love for her husband, Protesilaus, see Ov. Epist. 13.

88 PROCRIS: for the details of the story of Procris and her husband, Cephalus, see Ov. Met. 7.694–865.

90 Gouvea asserts that women have usually been the ones to cry on account of a lost lover. In his case, however, the situation has been reversed, since Catherine has abandoned him.

91 CLASSEM PROCEDERE: this repeats the idea of Epist. 2.46 (cf. note to this line).

Vidit Abydenum iactatum Sestias undis,
se simul in tumidas praecipitavit aquas.
Quid referam Thysben? Quid te, patre digna Catone,
Porcia? Quid gladios, Arria casta, tuos?
Quid Procrin, Hypsiphylem, reliquasque Heroidas omnes,
tu quibus es maior sanguine, laude minor?
Grandia mentiti qui praemia ferret amoris
vidimus, at noster morte luetur amor.
Ossa tegentur humo, cum spiritus ossa relinquet,
inque sepulcrali marmore carmen erit:
SCIRE MEAE CAUSSAM MORTIS QUICUNQUE LABORAS,
CRIMINIS ET SUMMA QUAE SIT, AMATOR ERAM.

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93 ABYDENUM: i. e. *iuvenum Abydenum,* the youth of Abydos, namely, Leander. Ovid likewise uses this adjective in referring to him, Epist. 17 (=18).1 Mittit Abydenus . . . salutem. See this entire letter of the Heroides, Leander Heroni, for the account of Leander's love for Hero, the maid of Sestos. Cf. also Christopher Marlowe, Hero and Leander, and the poem of Musaeus.

95 THYSBEN: for the story of Thisbe's love for Pyramus, see Ov. Met. 4.55–167.

96 PORCIA: the daughter of Cato Uticensis, who inherited her father's republican principles and likewise his courage. After the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. and the death of her husband, Brutus, she took her own life. Cf. Plut. Brut. 2, 13, 15, 23, 33; Cat. 25, 73.

96 ARRIA: i. e. Arria Maior, who died in 42 A.D. She stoically refused to survive her husband by first plunging the dagger into her own breast and withdrawing it as she uttered the famous words: Paete, non dolet. Cf. Plin. 3.16; Mart. 1.14.

own hand. When the maid of Sestos saw the youth of Abydos cast up by the waves, she at once threw herself into the swelling waters. Why should I speak of Thisbe; why of you, Porcia, worthy daughter of Cato? Why of your sword, chaste Arria? Why, of Procris, Hypsipyle, and all the rest of the Heroides, than whom you are greater in race though less in fame?

I have seen men who won the greatest rewards of false love, but I shall pay for mine with death. My bones will be covered with earth, when death leaves my dead body, and these verses shall be on the marble of the sepulchre: *Whoever you are, who wish to know the cause of my death, and what is the sum of my offense, I loved.*

103–4: in classical Latin poets frequently wrote their own epitaphs, e. g. Anth. 487^{c} (*olim* 734) Epitafium Terentii: Natus in excelsis tectis Karthaginis altae / Romanis ducibus bellica praeda fui. / Descripsi mores hominum, iuvenumque senumque. / < Qualiter et servi decipiant dominos, / quid meretrix, quid leno dolis confingat avarus > / Haec quicunque leget, hic puto cautus erit; Tib. 1.3.55–6 Hic iacet immiti consumptus morte Tibullus, / Messalam terra dum sequiturque mari; Lygd. 3.3.29–30 Lygdamus hic situs est. Dolor huic et cura Neaerae / coniugis ereptae causa perire fuit; Prop. 2.13.35–6 Qui nunc iacet horrida pulvis, / unius hic quondam servus amoris erat; Ov. Trist. 3.3.73–6 HIC · EGO · QUI · IACEO · TENERORUM · LUSOR · AMORUM / INGENIO · PERII · NASO · POETA · MEO / AT · TIBI · QUI · TRANSIS : NE · SIT · GRAVE · QUISQUIS · AMASTI / DICERE · NASONIS · MOLLITER · OSSA · CUBENT; Anth. 485^{c} Epitafium Lucani poetae: Corduba me genuit, rapuit Nero, praelia dixi.

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